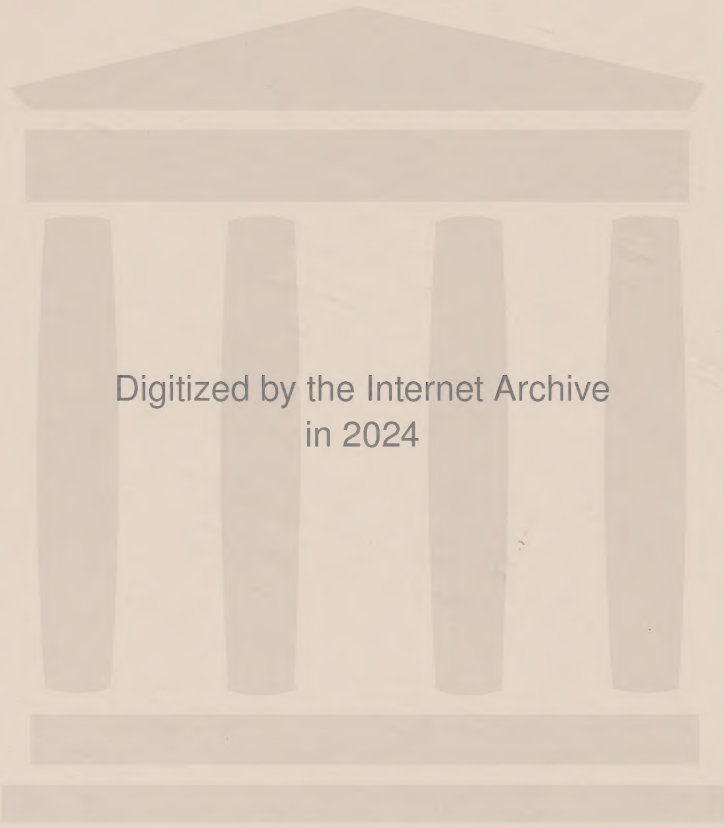




**THE DRAMATIC POLITICAL ALLEGORIES
OF THE SPANISH EXILE FÉLIX MEXÍA
PUBLISHED IN PHILADELPHIA,
PENNSYLVANIA IN 1826
REFUGEES FROM THE INQUISITION**

ELIZABETH COSCIO



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2024

Pare Rosmaris,

Socors per tu ajuda
en la meua mi suena realitate

Marta Costa

**THE DRAMATIC POLITICAL ALLEGORIES
OF THE SPANISH EXILE FÉLIX MEXÍA
PUBLISHED IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
IN 1826**

**THE DRAMATIC POLITICAL ALLEGORIES
OF THE SPANISH EXILE FÉLIX MEXÍA
PUBLISHED IN PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
IN 1826**

Refugees from the Inquisition

Elizabeth Coscio

The Edwin Mellen Press
Lewiston•Queenston•Lampeter

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Coscio, Elizabeth

The dramatic political allegories of the Spanish exile Félix Mexía published in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in 1826 / by Elizabeth Coscio.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-7734-5582-5

ISBN-10: 0-7734-5582-5

I. Title.

hors série.

A CIP catalog record for this book is available from the British Library.

Copyright © 2006 Elizabeth Coscio

All rights reserved. For information contact

The Edwin Mellen Press
Box 450
Lewiston, New York
USA 14092-0450

The Edwin Mellen Press
Box 67
Queenston, Ontario
CANADA L0S 1L0

The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd.
Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales
UNITED KINGDOM SA48 8LT

Printed in the United States of America

Thank you Oscar, Mark, Michelle, and Matt. You are my personal guiding lights.

Table of Contents

Foreword	By Dr. Rodolfo Cortina	i
Preface		iii
Introduction		
	Primary Sources by Mexía	1
	Others Sources	2
	Methodology	4
	Identity in Exile Romantic Literary Theory	7
Chapter 1	Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Identity in Exile,	13
	Romantic Theory and the Case for Political Allegory	
	Fèlix Mexía and Mariano Josè de Larra	15
	Fèlix Mexía and Fèlix Varela	23
	Historical Background for Mexía's Works: The	25
	Spanish Triennium, the Constitution of 1812, and the	
	Uprising of Riego	
	Hispanic Identity in Exile	31
	The Case for Political Allegory	37
	<i>Riego</i> and <i>La Fayette</i> as Transnational Exile Texts in	48
	United States Hispanic Literature	
Chapter 2	Establishing Exile Identity Status for <i>Riego</i> and <i>La</i>	59
	<i>Fayette</i>	
	"The City of Brotherhood"	61
	Spanish Exiles in the New World	63
	Political Allegory in Freemason Theatrical Ritual	65
	Symbolic Expression	
	Historical Background from the <i>Carta</i>	71

	Freemason Groups During the Spanish Triennium	
	Mexía's <i>Encíclica</i> and Other Essays in Support of	86
	Mexía's Constitutional Thesis: Written Laws to	
	Protect Liberty, Property, Security, and Resistance to	
	Oppression	
	Heroic Words for Political Allegory	94
	Mexía's Linguistic Identity in the Universal Sun of	103
	Truth: The Freemason Speech by Dewitt Clinton	
Chapter 3	Political Allegory in the Historical Tragedy <i>Riego</i>	107
	Historiography as Basis for <i>Allegoresis</i> and Open	109
	Reading	
	The Literary and Political Environment of the Spanish	112
	Triennium	
	Act I <i>Riego</i> and Teresa as the Constitution of 1812	115
	Background from the <i>Carta</i>	121
	Act II <i>Riego</i> and the Spy Ancelmo	124
	Act III and Act IV of <i>Riego</i> and Don Domingo	129
	Inquisition	
	Act V <i>Riego</i> : Fèlix Mexía as Dramatic Narrator and	134
	Don Antonio's Relationship to the Infamous Secret	
	Documents	
	Historical Background of the <i>Cortes</i> in Spain and New	141
	Spain	
	Was Riego's Martyrdom a Futile One?	144
	The Military	147
	Francisco Espoz y Mina	148
	Riego's Rebellion	148
	Mexía's Exile Identity	150
	Symbolic Significance in Mexía's Sonnet Dedicated to	151
	Guadalupe Victoria, First President of Mexico	
Chapter 4	Political Allegory: <i>La Fayette en Monte Vernon</i>	157

Dedicatory to Espoz y Mina	157
Characters and Syntagmatic Historical	158
Correspondences: The Romanticized American Republican Family	
Margaret as the United States Constitution: The Good Wife/Mother	162
Hamilton as Alexander Hamilton: Founding Father	167
Refigured as Humble Old Soldier/Good Husband to the Constitution	
La Fayette: The Aristocratic Romantic American Son	169
Returns	
La Fayette's Visit to The United States as Political Allegory	170
The Illusion of a Liberal Spain as a Classical American Republic	173
Founding Fathers: Group Identity in the Political Family	176
Mr. Custis: Mexía as Editorializing Dramatic Narrator	183
Historical Background of General Francisco Espoz y Mina	188
Plotters, Conspirators, Spies, and Triennium Constitutional Politics	191
Transnational Romantic Sentiment and Spanish Romantic Movement	193
The Staging of Political Allegory: Collective Chorus and Crowd Scenes	202
Chapter 5 Conclusion	207
Bibliography	219
Index	234

Foreword

Elizabeth Coscio has written a very interesting and important work that helps us understand the transition between the XVIIIth and the XIXth centuries. That transition, which so often confuses scholars, is so opaque because the works in question evince a form that is clearly Neoclassical, but occasionally the meaning or content is Romantic. The other difficulty lies in the fact that Romanticism in Spain lasts a mere twenty to twenty-five years. However, the Latin American case is different. In the New World the Romantic period is fed by the desire for freedom and independence from Spain, and while allegory, for example, is a tactic that belongs to the Neoclassical school, it adapts itself with a mordant wit. I recall the case of *Jicotencal*, which Luis Leal and I have attributed to Félix Varela, has a Neoclassical surface with a fierce allegory that reminds us of the political fire burning so bright from Philadelphia to Buenos Aires.

Likewise, Félix Mexía, suffers from a similar malady. His schooling is clearly Neoclassical, his political passions drive him to political allegory that inflames his ideological counterparts. Coscio examines two dramatic works which appeared in Philadelphia, the center for political rebellion throughout the Americas at the time: *No hay union con los tiranos morirá quien lo pretenda o sea la muerte de Riego* and *La Fayette en Monte Vernon*. Mexía dedicated the former work as a historical tragedy to Guadalupe Victoria, the first president of Mexico, to elevate the martyr's death of his Spanish hero, the revolutionary Rafael de Riego y Nuñez, by detailing the final moments of Riego's imprisonment. In the latter, *La Fayette en Monte Vernon*, written in the republican tradition of a Greco-Roman epic, Mexía refigured the Spanish guerrilla fighter Francisco Javier Espoz y Mina as the patriot farmer George Washington. Coscio

elucidates that these dedications resulted from his denunciation of specific Spanish laws that shut down patriotic societies, disbanded the revolutionary national militia, and imprisoned popular heroes like Riego. This is a risky undertaking, and Coscio is to be commended for attempting it and illuminating that strange bit of literary history which Mexía embodies. His works may not be the most celebrated literary artifacts of his age, but they are a true reflection of an obscure period. Coscio is masterful in her analysis and I believe her work to be of great importance to scholars of the period.

Mexía was coeditor of the newspaper *El Zurriago* during the Triennium, the Spanish Monarchal Constitutional Period from 1821 to 1823 before he left Spain. Over half a century later, the realist author, Benito Pérez Galdós employed Mexía's satire and his real political life. In *El terror de 1824* Galdós told of the persecution of liberals in Spain that would last for an ominous decade. Galdós utilized *El Zurriago*'s inflammatory style in nicknames, songs, and allegorical drama to immortalize Félix Mexía as the liberal *exaltado* character Patricio Sarmiento in his fictional fanatical caricature of a whole generation of liberals in *El terror de 1824* of the *Episodios nacionales*.

Coscio observes that Mexía takes the stage again in this work as a fictional friend to his historical protagonist heroes, Riego in one drama, La Fayette in the other. Moreover she points out that both dramas feature a romantic allegorized female as a political constitution. And brilliantly concludes that these readings make public Mexía's political issues mediated through allegorical syntagmatic historical correspondences referencing back to his own particular exile identity qualifying the two dramas as revolutionary romantic utopist vision, but not Romantic theatre.

Rodolfo J. Cortina, University of Houston

Preface

Acknowledgement of the following basic guidelines is necessary for research consistency. In the interest of clarity, the original nineteenth-century orthography and punctuation reflects modernization twentieth-century standard usage. The guideline for these changes was the *Esbozo de una nueva gramática de la lengua española* (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1986). All translations are my own unless otherwise noted. The following abbreviated forms are employed: *Riego* for *No hay unión con los tiranos morirá quien lo pretenda o sea la muerte de Riego*; *Carta* for the *Carta de Benigno Morales a Félix Mejía*; *La Fayette* for *La Fayette en Monte Vernon* and *Encíclica* for the *Encíclica del Papa León XII en auxilio del tirano de España Fernando VII con una disertación en sentido opuesto, por Félix Megía*. The spelling used for the author's name *Mexía* is as that found written in script on the cover of *El Zurriago*. The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill kindly provided their "building use only" copy of *El Zurriago*. This researcher verified authorship of all original sources to the author Mexía, the editor of the Spanish newspaper *El Zurriago*, despite the alternate spellings of his name. Other names and geographical locations are as cited in the sources used unless further clarification was necessary. Romanticism refers to the historical esthetic literary movement, and romanticism refers to a more general sentiment used to describe a nineteenth-century revolutionary utopist genre.

Introduction

The present work, as part of a larger project to locate the elusive beginnings of Spanish Romantic theatre, examines the political allegory in the Spaniard Félix Mexía's dramatic works published in the early nineteenth century during his exile in Philadelphia. The firebrand journalist Mexía authored two dramas not previously critiqued: *No hay unión con los tiranos morirá quien lo pretenda o sea la muerte de Riego* and *La Fayette en Monte Vernon*. The application of identity in exile and Romantic theory to Mexía's two theatrical works revealed his hidden political allegory. The analysis of his works makes known this man's political identity through his exile works in the context of his historical place. The readings in chapters three and four, rather than providing a new beginning for Spanish Romanticism, consider the romantic transnational political allegory in Mexía's two dramas.

Involved in the act of recovering Hispanic literature written in the United States is the underlying notion of an archaeological and/or anthropological search. Once researchers have located these writings in Spanish, they then address literary, historical and political significance. The search for meaning somewhat resembles working a crossword puzzle. The researcher must employ primary sources as varied as chronicles, testimonials, diaries, various types of religious and civil records, diverse prose and verse narratives, and works including travel tales, music and theatre. Unearthing Mexía's two allegorical dramas, *Riego* and *La Fayette*, allows for readings that address several pertinent issues and raise a variety of questions.

Primary Sources by Mexía

To fully analyze the political allegory reflected in both *Riego* and *La Fayette* it was essential to pursue meaning employing other works by Félix

Mexía. These primary sources include *El Zurriago* (1820 to 1823), the newspaper published by Mexía and Benigno Morales before Morales' execution and Mexía's exile from Spain, Félix Mexía's *Encíclica* (1824), and the *Carta*, both works published by Mexía in Philadelphia. The reader must approach Mexía's historical tragedy *Riego* for historical information, not as a grandiose neoclassical production. The long historical verse/prose letter from Benigno Morales (*Carta*) provides an interesting poetic read, but only in a historical sense. The historical background provided by the *Carta* offers the necessary details to flesh out the schematic two-act drama *La Fayette*. Chauncey Buckley of Philadelphia provided an English translation of this same two-act drama entitled *La Fayette in Mount Vernon*. Mexía wrote the play and published it along with that translation during the actual Washington, D. C., visit of the Marquis de La Fayette, French moderate liberal and defender of social reform in his own country. These unique works, other original essays by New World Hispanic patriots and other sources provided the necessary insight to establish Mexía's historical political identity allowing for the theoretical criticism of his dramatic works.

Other Sources

While this does not deal with the works of the author Benito Pérez Galdós, it is important to mention the interesting intertextuality involved between that man of literary stature and the relatively unknown Mexía. Galdós used the real merchant-turned journalist Félix Mexía as an archetype for one of his fictional characters in *El terror de 1824* of the *Episodios nacionales* published in 1906 (*El Zurriago* 1:2). In *El terror de 1824*, Galdós told of the persecution of liberals in Spain that lasted over an ominous decade from 1823 to 1833.

The realist author Galdós borrowed the liberal political satire, including giving nicknames to politicians--even to the King Ferdinand VII--as well as borrowing songs, verse, and allegorical drama from *El Zurriago*. Some admired, while those government officials who were criticized, lambasted such satire, parody, and political allegory during the Constitutional Triennium Period in Spain from 1820 to 1823. Galdós reconfirmed the popularity, both positive and negative, of *El Zurriago* over half a century after Mexía's death in 1853.

Iris Zavala in Ramón Menéndez Pidal's *Historia de España: la época del romanticismo* supported the 1853 date for Mexía's death (136), and the bibliographer María Luisa Colón agreed (54). Mexía also translated and published in Philadelphia a translation of the German melodramatic master, August Friederic von Kotzebue. Mexía published the original *Pizarro y Rola* under the title *Pizarro o los peruanos* in 1824. The author's dedication from that work requested his American brothers appreciate their liberal comrades across the sea. He begged them to understand that they as Spanish citizens were not responsible for the treacherous deeds of their cruel monarch, Ferdinand VII. Zavala also corroborated Mexía's liberal convictions, as an early socialist dramatist, in defense of democracy and federalism in Spain with the publication of his drama, *La Suiza libre, o los carbonarios*, a four-act drama published in Madrid in 1846 (136).

The relationship between Mexía's real life in exile and Benigno Morales death in 1824 gives meaning to the search for why Mexía continued to use his newspaper style allegorical literary creativity in his exile dramas. Besides a natural desire to stage his political editorial opinions, I believe he experienced a kind of allegorical death in exile to match his co-editor's actual death. That allegorical death provided the opportunity to enter his dramas as a character and foresaw Galdós' use of his persona as established by Dolores Gómez.

Gómez provided a wealth of detailed commentary and citations from the first twenty-seven issues of *El Zurriago* in her thesis to prove that the character Patricio Sarmiento, one of the characters of the *Episodios nacionales*, was the man Félix Mexía and his radical political identity as was presented in *El Zurriago*. Even though Galdós had ridiculed the character he created in the image of Félix Mexía as a crazy, fanatical, liberal *exaltado*, his use of that journalistic model still resonated with the influence of Mexía's political newspaper commentary during the chaotic years of the Triennium (Gómez 98-99). Galdós' choice of Mexía and *El Zurriago* as role models for his character Patricio Sarmiento serves as one more example of the influence of the press even under extreme censorship.

The written production of Félix Mexía, as well as the man himself, was representative of an entire generation of young idealistic, rabbleroising liberals and was instrumental in establishing Mexía's romantic identity in exile. By employing elements of his allegorical newspaper style, Mexía created an analogical fictional world anticipating the imaginative world of Romantic Theatre peopled by bandits, artisans, and the everyday workers of the world. The strong emotional appeal contained in the rhetoric of the tumultuous Triennium period in Spain provided a frame of reference for the dramatic readings.

Mexía presented these dramas in a deceptively simple, straightforward news account manner. *La Fayette* resembles a political cartoon that is not always as humorous as incisive. In fact, *El Zurriago* described many such political cartoons on display in the plaza during the politically chaotic and periodically prolific Spanish Triennium. Related to the same idea is the nineteenth-century dominant visual culture, commented on by Franklin García Sánchez. That critic called to mind a series of inventions that affected all of the visual arts including theatre. The panorama (1788), the kaleidoscope (1818), the diorama (1822), and, after the dramas critiqued, photography (1830) were all innovations that displayed the public penchant for cinematic type visual arts (172). Viewing the dramas as archaeological objects reflecting the same visually powerful discourse of *El Zurriago* related to a politically universal Freemason-inspired liberal patriotic discourse links *Riego* and *La Fayette* to a melodramatic forgotten past of intrigues and betrayals in a brotherhood where martyrdom to the cause meant death or exile.

Methodology

Querying the past helped explain the significance of Mexía's exile works: What roles do motivation and censorship play in creating an allegory? Why are writers in exile so obsessed with place and identity? How do these exiles define themselves away from their native lands? If they had not left their homelands, would they have written what they did? How is Félix Mexía's expatriation reflected in *Riego* and *La Fayette in Monte Vernon*? Exactly how do exiles reinvent themselves? What basic principles drive individuals to brave the cultural

anomie of banishment? Are identities permanent, or do they change with geographical situation? Carlos Blanco Aguinaga employed profiles of exiled authors from the Spanish Civil War era to answer the following perplexing questions: “What happens when writers lose their land base?” and “What relationships to that world, apparently necessary, do we find in the works of various voluntary or obligatory exiles?” (Blanco Aguinaga 253). Though several literary generations removed from that of Mexía’s, that age group of Spaniards still were facing many of the same set of related uncertainties raised in Mexía’s exile situation.

Understanding the events leading to Benigno Morales’ death provided the explanation for Félix Mexía’s exile. The *Carta* written in the form of a long verse/prose letter from Benigno Morales to Mexía was of historical and literary significance in tracing the political allegory. That text set the scene for the subsequently written political allegories. Correlating the European history detailed in the *Carta* to other historical sources was the next step. Many patriots had died in front of a firing squad, including Benigno Morales himself, who before his death managed to send the long-footnoted poem included in the *Carta* (172). The *Carta* also revealed Mexía’s blatant 1823 publication of Ferdinand VII’s letters to his father, Carlos IV, in the Madrid newspaper *La Tercerola* (20, 75). Those letters showed Carlos IV was forced to abdicate his crown to Ferdinand VII. That rebellion of a king’s son against his father resulted in the betrayal of a nation’s son, Riego by that nation’s father King, Ferdinand VII. Those eventsead to the publication of *Riego*.

The *Carta* is not an epic poem in the strictest sense, any more than *La Fayette* is truly an epic drama. Exhibiting an absence of Renaissance adornments and baroque hyperbole, employing plain prosaic style, this romance histórico belongs to the same long poetic epic verse tradition documented later in the *Romancero del ejército popular* from the Civil War of the thirties. Antonio Ramos-Gascón in the introduction to *El Romancero del ejército popular* noted that it was Pedro Salinas who had used the term *romancismo* in reference to the “...manifiesta propensión de los poetas españoles, siglo tras siglo a acudir al verso

octosilábico con rima asonantada, que viene desde la épica medieval” (11). (...clear propensity of Spanish poets, century after century, to rely on octosyllabic verse with rhyming assonance, that dates to the Medieval epic) Benigno Morales was the author of the referenced *romance histórico* that was part of the *Carta*.

As Mexía's coeditor of *El Zurriago* newspaper during the Spanish Triennium, Morales died a martyr to the liberal cause they both espoused. He begged Félix Mexía to publish the letter in honor of their heroes, Padilla the medieval hero and Riego their contemporary nineteenth-century comunero guerrilla fighter (7). The foreword of the *Carta* identified the writer as Benigno Morales. It also credited the *Carta* to Benigno Morales, as written while awaiting his death in Almería, August 23, 1824, along with thirty-one other patriots from all over the world. Mexía placed an acknowledgement the *Carta* that he was publishing the letter exactly as Morales wrote it:

Se publica tal como Morales la escribió, sin aumentarle, corregirle, no quitarle cosa alguna y ella presenta el convencimiento más exacto del acendrado patriotismo que abrigó su corazón hasta que dejó de existir.

It is published exactly as Morales wrote it, without adding, correcting or deleting anything and it demonstrates with exacting conviction the pure patriotism that warmed his heart until it ceased to exist. (Preface)

Initially approaching the *Carta* as written by Mexía led this researcher to the story related by Benigno Morales of the Zurriaguistas back in Spain. The information provided by primary sources such as the *Carta*, *El Zurriago*, Mexía's *Encíclica* and the other works published by Hispanic liberals in Philadelphia demonstrated the relationship of inflammatory political oratory to reformer rhetoric. Also highlighted in the *Carta* was the need for group identity in the beginning formation of political parties and the history of Freemasonry. The need for the rule of law in a democracy and the role of leadership in positions of power and authority are apparent in Mexía's *Encíclica* against the Pope's encyclical issued in 1826. His thesis rested on three main concerns: the abuse of the limits of

Papal authority; the difference between spiritual and political jurisdiction; and the natural and divine right of all nations to choose their own form of government. A number of intriguing questions arose from Mexía's dramatic texts in light of his historical political identity in exile and romantic treatment to uncover his political allegory.

Identity in Exile and Romantic Literary Theory

The last two chapters provide readings based on the two critical theories, identity in exile and Romanticism as a movement vs. romantic political sentiment and characterization, that aid the recovery of the political allegory in the author's two Philadelphia dramas. The readings reveal Mexía's ultimate dramatic reference mediated through historical action, which allow allusion back to his own particular exile identity. The fictional dramatic narrators, Lieutenant Colonel Félix in *Riego* and Mr. Custis in *La Fayette*, each character representing Mexía, make available the necessary historical/political commentary.

The first reading concerns Mexía's political purpose through syntagmatic historical correspondences in the historical tragedy, *Riego*. In that political allegory Mexía dedicated a sonnet to Guadalupe Victoria, the first president of Mexico, in a desire to magnify and expose to the world the death of his Spanish hero, the revolutionary Rafael de Riego y Nuñez, by detailing, in a historical tragedy, the final moments of his imprisonment. Mexía chose to continue to allegorize even in exile. The artistic theatrical format of his works under study marks the Janus nature of Mexía's political identity. The same as that two-faced god, Mexía reflected nostalgically on his illusory past even while telling the historical story of Rafael de Riego's uprising in Spain in an allegory that spoke to Mexican current events of his day

The other reading of Mexía's political allegory *La Fayette* employs the same identity in exile and Romantic theory to again discern his bi-located allegorical discourse. In *La Fayette*, his political allegory evolved with a romantic portrayal of his own real and nostalgic past superimposed on United States current events. That political allegory mediated the return to not only to a chaotic nineteenth-century political period in Spain, but also to an idealized Spanish

medieval felicity and the heroic Greek and Roman Age by way of the American Revolution. Readers have traditionally ignored the allegory by remaining on the historical surface.

Inherent in the politically allegorical jagged presentation of times gone by are societal questions that are still quite valid. What brings different political groups closer together, or drives them apart? Why is there a need for political identity? Is political writing merely a heroic gesture? What major forces tend to allow for freedom of speech and press? What causes the kind of hostile division and suspicions experienced by the early Spanish liberals? Who were the nineteenth-century Hispanic exiles? How did the experiences of a number of these men in the Spanish Cortes reflect in what they wrote?

Referring to these types of issues, the social historian Jesús Cruz considered the ambivalence of the nineteenth-century uprisings in both the public and private sector and their effect on the liberalization of modern Spain. His background on the literary critic and writer Alcalá Galiano along with the notation in *Jicoténcal* regarding the authorship of the death warrant for Mexía and other liberals sheds some light on motivation for the publication of Mexía's exile works.

Included is a close examination of the characters of Mexía's two dramas and how the liberal agenda related to their allegorical representation. The author's appearance as a character in these political allegories allowed for his new identity in exile by way of an allegorical death implied by the assumption of a pseudonym. The depiction of the faithful wife in both dramas as a political constitution reflected that newspaperman's concerns that are more clearly spelled out in his ideological writings including political satire and his own *Encíclica*.

The appearance of allegorized female figures in each of these dramas brings up the possibility of viewing a political constitution as based on a female rhetoric of difference. The authority of a document as powerful as a constitution portrayed as a real woman within her role as family nurturer/provider, wife, and mother is hardly a radical thought today. In 1826, however, that depiction was the logical step beyond the seductress Liberty and homebound Madonna images of

women in a patriarchal world, or at least one man's romantic notion of a step forward.

Historicity is much related to the concept of a political allegory. Actually, it was crucial to reach the above-cited concept of a wife/mother political constitution. Mexía's diagrammatic short play *La Fayette* without the referent history would mean nothing. How are nineteenth-century European history and politics related to the Americas' national independence projects? This question led to the brief overview of U. S. Hispanic literary works necessary to locate Mexía's two exile dramas produced in the United States. Luis Leal, Rodolfo Cortina, Nicolás Kanellos, Francisco Lomelí, Juan Armando Epple, and others supplied the U. S. Hispanic literary theory and background on literary canon formation. This same question also provided the rationale for reviewing the essays considered in conjunction with Mexía's Philadelphia exile works.

In considering Mexía's dramas, addressing the following thorny issues was unavoidable: What is romancismo/romanticismo as related to Mexía's dramas? Are these theatrical works Neoclassic, Romantic, romantic, or romanic? Pierre Ullman's judicious analysis of political meaning in the costumbrista Mariano José de Larra's works, criticizing many of the same politicians faulted by Mexía a decade earlier, made a powerful case for Larra as an early proponent of Romanticism. Larra's writing as a political exile in his own land due to censorship during the same generation as Mexía merits his inclusion and some valid romantic analogy.

The recent study of eighty-one years of scholarship on the Romantic period in Spain by Peter A. Bly and Susan Kirkpatrick was the logical starting point for Romantic theory. The authors invited a new look at this area while chiding us to continue to provide literary criticism that exposes the historical past with new interpretations (809). This researcher relied on a long line of names in the area of Spanish Romanticism including Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Vicente Lloréns Castillo, and E. Allison Peers. Vicente Lloréns Castillo, Iris M. Zavala and María Seoane Couceiro were invaluable resources in the area of journalism and its relationship to the Romantic Literary Movement. Additionally, the

screening of Mexía's two political allegories rendered some explanation for the following question: Is there a relationship of Spanish liberal romanticism to the beginnings of modern political reform in Spain?

New social, cultural, and historical methods that span a variety of other disciplines including sociology, history, philosophy, economics, and law have opened up literary criticism to include political considerations. The novel and its history and meaning, especially in canonized works, were the primary topics of literary criticism before the Sixties. Since then, literary criticism has broadened, beginning in Europe, to include everything from myths, legends, and fables to epics, novels and short stories. Dialogues, news accounts, and movies were fair game as well as tragedies, comedies, and histories. The critic Leitch mentioned also the study of certain relief sculptures, stained-glass windows and paintings, dances, pantomimes, even legal case studies, and other subjects of Romantic criticism (Leitch 247).

As a critical method, narratology could be employed to analyze any type of narrative, even dramatic ones such as those considered here. A number of Anglo-American nonstructuralist literary critics led the way including Frank Kermode. Since the middle of the 1960's, French structuralists have broadened the areas of literary consideration. Leitch made room for "literary Marxists, formalists, Myth Critics, structuralists, and semioticians as well as folklorists, anthropologists, biblical scholars, historians, and psychoanalysts" (247).

Hayden White, professor of the History of Consciousness and Historical Studies, is the author of *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Hayden White's significant and innovative study of narrative discourse and historical representation provided the link between symbolic language and the allegory. White followed Paul Ricoeur with his "excess of meaning" in pursuing "'reality' as a dialectic of 'human desire' and 'cosmic appearance'" (White 53).

Regarding national consciousness building in the nineteenth century, several works on historiography provide theoretical underpinnings. These include works by Beatriz González Stephan and Antonio Cornejo Polar (as early as 1987

and 1989 respectively) who have carried out very useful methodological approaches to the nineteenth century. Also, the theoretical essays edited by Wlad Godzich and Nicholas Spadaccini on the reconfiguration of nineteenth-century Spanish literary history and criticism were invaluable resources.

Antonio Benítez-Rojo in his essay, "The Nineteenth-Century Spanish American Novel," made note of the social and cultural fragmentation that occurred in the Americas. According to him, it is important to consider our need "to channel toward a common destiny the various ethnological factors... (Indoamerican, European, African)... as a necessary antecedent of the more complex desire for nationality" (442). This view falls in line with Benedict Anderson's view of the importance of "the nationalist phenomena" of what it means to be an American, which rightfully belongs in the cultural realm and especially in the "manipulation of its discourse by other discourses" (42). This desire to be a part of the great nineteenth-century experiment that was America is part of the romantic outlook expressed in *La Fayette*. Mexía's allegorical invocation of his fellow Spanish patriots was to allow their names to share in the glory of the patriot farmer legend of the founding father George Washington. *La Fayette*'s return to the United States as one of the most revered revolutionary war heroes provided an ideal opportunity for Mexía to gain authority for himself and his contemporary revolutionaries as native sons through the heroic romantic gesture of writing.

By allowing questions to arise directly from the texts, the theoretical areas expanded to include historical and political implications. The importance of these Hispanic texts in U.S. literary space was their representation as symbolic social acts, to borrow the term Frederic Jameson employed in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. In that work, he posited a model in the form of three concentric circles inside of a Marxist semantic precondition of the need to historicize (75). The negotiations of ideas of nationalism involve current theory on identity in exile and Romantic literary theory. Neo-Marxist theory in Frederic Jameson's "symbolic act" causes us to consider history and literature reflecting distinct discourses of exile, not just

history as dates, facts, and figures. Jameson equated the literary text to an act always symbolic of the basic Marxist class struggle. The liberal romantic sentimental discourse in *Riego* and *La Fayette* that deployed Mexía as a heroic dramatic narrator prefigured Galdós' use of his persona. Galdós transformed Mexía into an archetype for a whole generation of fanatical liberals.

Romanticism becomes resistance to the great bourgeois cultural revolution in Jameson's model (35). That area of nationalism in modern Spanish American literature has also been investigated by Doris Sommer (1991), Roberto González Echevarría (1990), Gustavo Pérez-Firmat (1989) Julio Ramos (1989), Josefina Ludmer (1988), and Benedict Anderson (1983). Some of those same authors examined the U. S. sphere of production as well, but the nineteenth-century U. S. Hispanic environment of Philadelphia as a hotbed of activity for spies, conspirators, military, and liberals of all sorts is an area still ripe for investigation.

Chapter 1

Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Exile Identity, Romantic Theory, and the Case for Political Allegory

Confronting the ambiguity and polemics involved in United States Hispanic exile identity requires a look at the classification of literary works recovered here in the United States. The Spanish author Mariano José de Larra of Mexía's literary generation is included in this chapter even though he was never exiled to the United States. Larra was an exile in his own land due to censorship. His satirical newspaper articles are a reminder of Mexía's early journalistic romantic sentiment. Because of his suicide in his twenties, and his political writings, Larra's pseudonym Fígaro has served as a symbol of literary as well as political opposition. To many, he became the epitome of Spanish idealism, liberal cultural thought, and ideology.

It is worth considering the case of Larra as one of the leading proponents of an early Romantic historical literary conception. Larra began writing in the Ominous Decade of the years from 1823 to 1833, continuing until his death in 1837. The political scene in Spain satirized by Larra was similar to the 1820 to 1823 political era of the Triennium that the journalist Mexía experienced in Spain. In Larra's work, as well as in Mexía's, there was a certain satiric newspaper style and oratorical parody that point to the historical development of innovative stage directions in dramatic works. While the move from oral discourse to written stage play was not the main topic here, it was related to the location of Mexía's political allegory.

In considering Mexía's dramas, addressing the following thorny issues was unavoidable: romancismo/romanticismo as related to Mexía's dramas. Are these theatrical works Neoclassic, Romantic, romantic, or romanic? Pierre

Ullman's judicious analysis of political meaning in the costumbrista Mariano José de Larra's works criticizing many of the same politicians faulted by Mexía a decade earlier made a powerful case for Larra as an early proponent of Romanticism. Larra's writing as a political exile in his own land, due to censorship during the same generation as Mexía, merits his inclusion and some valid comparison to his prose and dramatic works as well.

Not only was Larra's newspaper style similar to the tone Mexía anticipated in *El Zurriago*, but also Mexía advanced just-the-facts *découpage* and author as narrator forewarned Larra's later use of pre-cinematic realistic dramatic effects and devices. Franklin García Sánchez detailed Larra's autobiographic narrator in the historic novel, *El doncel de don Enrique el doliente*, which Larra produced at the same time as the transitional Romantic drama *Macías* in 1834 (59-140). Those works qualify Larra as transitional Romantic, for the drama *Macías*, while structurally versified as classic, lacking in picturesque local color, presented the passionate romantic characters Elvira and Macías, who without great gestures or inflection, broke social laws and conventions. Macías rebellion questioned the absolute authority of a father over his children, the special privileges of the nobility, and the distinctly pre-romantic notion of a woman's congenial inferiority. He also expressed the need for self-sacrificing love in a family relationship. That Larra the Romantic chose to reflect that important quality of self-sacrifice in love relations was a political as well as a personal concern for the beleaguered writer.

In both Mexía's and Larra's work the political implications are impossible to avoid. Ullman touted the infamous *Zurriago*, as well as the *Tercerola* published by Mexía in Spain as liberal slander sheets that only aggravated the masses and reflected a complete lack of control and responsibility (12). According to Ullman, during the Triennium, the press had abused their freedom referring to the "provocative...nasty epithets for honorable citizens, and ... rumors about their private life..." (166). He recalled the jibes made by Morales and Mexía calling their rivals *pasteleros por ser de una masa más exquisita de los demás* 'pastry cooks (unable to make difficult decisions) since they were made of a more

exquisite dough than the rest' and the name-calling of Martínez de la Rosa as *Rosita la pastelera*.

Larra later reflected on the belief that the 1823 invasion of Spain by the French was, in many ways, caused by a lack of judicial internal control of the flow of news. Libel laws had been established, but there seemed little desire to enforce them. The liberals in Spain had tried to mimic foreign judicial policy with the implementation of systems such as the need for trial by jury and the requirement of a two-thirds vote of the jury to convict; thus, eight of eleven jurors were needed to prove an article sought to arouse sedition, civil disobedience, or contained libelous or slanderous material (Ullman 167). In 1834 during the debate concerning a petition for a bill of rights, Larra berated those who supported Minister Martínez de La Rosa's moderate position. Larra must have realized the moderates were leery of the same chaotic press situation of the Triennium when he wrote the following: "Le suena siempre en los oídos el cañoneo del año 23. No ve más que *El Zurriago*, no oye más que a Angulema" (I: 439).

Félix Mexía and Mariano José de Larra

Many exile works reflected the European situation and especially the chaotic political situation in Spain during the early years of the nineteenth century. Asking the question if all exiles are really exiles provides the opportunity to look at a Spanish author like Mariano José de Larra, perhaps the most important Spanish essayist and satirist of the first half of the century. Inherent in the act of writing under strict censorship is the notion of being an exile in your own land. In 1828, Larra at only nineteen years of age was publishing *El duende satírico del día* (*The Satiric Troll of the Day*) a work that revealed his critical spirit. That periodical commentary under censorship was an antecedent of modern day news reporting (Seoane 198). Also, important to the present study, the literary section of his newspaper followed the popularity of vaudeville, the melodrama and the "furor filarmónico" that documented the changes beginning to occur in drama (200).

By the 1830's Larra's *El pobrecito hablador* (*The Poor Little Chatterbox*) displayed the best newspaper style of its day according to Seoane. It was written

in a roundabout fashion to avoid censorship, "...a fuerzas de lagunas y paliativos fue la ridícula y única manera que las pudieran oír los mismos que no quieren entenderlas". '...the only way they could make those who needed to hear, the same ones who didn't want to understand them was by way of lacunae and hidden meaning'. The satire became more direct and the allegories more transparent as Larra's political views changed (203). The following quote by Larra reflected years of creating a modern news source despite rigid censorship: "La libertad de imprenta... se parece al dinero en lo indispensable y en lo filosóficamente que sin la una y sin el otro vamos trampeando" (219). 'Freedom of the press...is like money in that it is indispensable and philosophically that without one or the other we are just deceiving ourselves'. The news writer was to be the soldier of words on the battlefield of the tribunal and in the newspaper. One critic spoke of his "personalismo literario" 'literary tendency to subordinate common interest to personal objectives' in naming him a precursor of the Generation of Ninety-Eight (Del Río, *Historia de la literatura española* 45). In the same work, Del Río referred to Larra as a liberal rationalist with a contradictory personality (116-117). Born in Madrid, Larra left Spain at four years of age in 1809. When the French troops left Spain, he went with his father, a military doctor. In France, he studied, learned French and left behind his own culture and Spanish language.

He returned to Spain *afrancesado*, a Spaniard with French manners, in 1818 at age thirteen. Six years later he fell in love and this experience would leave him an introspective sad young man who abandoned his studies to write bitter incisive irony. He eventually committed suicide at age twenty-eight. Different than costumbristas, such as Ramon de Mesonero Romanos, Larra did not propose just to entertain, but to question the status quo with his incisive commentary on the inertia of his compatriots. Figaro's conflict between a Spanish heart and a European conscience would not allow him to offend his public directly. He still managed to reveal the individual and collective defects, cultural level, dirty politics, lack of ideals, anarchy, indifference, maliciousness, and general stupidity of some of his theatre criticism (221). His political allusions demonstrated his independent stance and he did not conform to any party line.

Seoane quoted Manuel Bretón de los Herreros acknowledging Larra as a man with no fear or price who would not allow government destiny or party promises to interfere. He was a man willing to write something other than “se dice” ‘they say’ (223). Del Río saw in Larra “...acaso el único romántico verdadero, de espíritu, que hubo en su tiempo en España.” ‘perhaps the only true-spirited Romantic during his time in Spain.’ (117). As a precursor in a long line of authors yet to come in the Generation of 98, Larra became a cultural icon. The desire of words to be more than words, the constant struggle between liberty and domination and their resulting ethical nightmare are all documented in his works. In political terms, he tried to force the middle class to acknowledge their role in the power struggle. In literary terms he proved what Mexía had posited that words were necessary to govern men. In *El Zurriago* Mexía employed the newspaperman’s trick to enliven copy: proverbs and adages, personal stories, and straightforward political dirt in the form of satire and parody.

Many years later, Pérez Galdós pointed out the contradiction between the grand eloquent speeches of the Liberals and their immoral and petty acts. He referred to the empty rhetoric that looked to Rome as the first place where society protected property and personal liberties using Paquito Bringas and Joaquinito Pez in *Tormento* (qtd. In Seoane 9). In *El terror de 1824* of the *Episodios nacionales*, Galdós chose to represent that entire generation of zealous liberals using Mexía and *El Zurriago* as character models. We can no longer hear Mexía’s speeches in the Fontana de Oro, but his two dramatic works produced in Philadelphia allowed him to continue to express his views as a dramatic narrator. The romantic illusion referred to in the critical reading of *La Fayette* resulted from the same kind of political oratory and empty rhetoric that looked to the medieval literary past for a political utopia. That romanticism, with a lower case *r*, was really a genre in itself that combined youthful idealism with a certain kind of realism.

Just before his suicide, Larra wrote “Día de difuntos de 1836”; ‘Day of the Deceased of 1836’ there he described the “Imprenta Nacional” ‘National Publishing House’ as a “Sepulcro de la verdad” ‘Tomb of the Truth’ (Del Río,

Literatura española Antología II (150). That quote addressed the problem of censorship that not only haunted Larra and Mexía's generation, but also another generation under Franco's rule. The "Salón de Cortes" 'halls of Congress' that was the house of the Holy Spirit was no longer because the Holy Spirit no longer spoke in "lenguas de fuego" 'fiery tongues' (151). Later in viewing the works of Félix Mexía in relationship to the liberal project, this fire metaphor for liberty will be revisited. Larra made reference to the fact that although they met in the Church of the Holy Spirit, the men of the Cortes did not display any of that spirit.

The rather spiritual vision addressed in the oratory and periodical literature so representative of the early nineteenth-century was repeated in the dedications found in the two dramas in the present study. In the call to the "sacerdotes de la libertad" 'priests of liberty' in the foreword of the drama about the Spanish hero Riego, Mexía refigured that man as Simón Bolívar in the same manner he treated George Washington in the other drama. Refiguring his own hero as the South American and United States founding fathers, Mexía looked forward to a utopian society where the religion of liberty would reign (*Riego* 6). Employing the allegory in his dramatic exile works allowed for a legal authority based on the sacred symbols of the federalism this man worshipped.

"¡Libertad! ¡Constitución! ¡Opinión nacional! ¡Emigración! ¡Vergüenza! ¡Discordia! (151). Those words of the famous costumbrista Larra fairly well summed up not only the years of 1834 to 1836 about which he wrote, but also the Napoleonic invasion, the entire disastrous reign of Ferdinand VII, including the years immediately prior, during, and after the Triennium. Not only Félix Mexía, but also many other Spaniards found themselves away from their homeland. Larra's words about those terrible times told it all: "Aquí yace media España; murió de la otra media..." 'Here lies half of Spain; it died at the hands of the other half' (Del Río, *Historia de la literatura española* 117). Perhaps it was in the imaginative vein of a collective romantic *I* that Larra's costumbrismo in a journalistic format has been given due consideration as the very image of romantic ideology. As Ullman pointed out, Larra was not famous for poetry, novels or his dramas, but rather for his satire (4).

The same holds true for Félix Mexía who primarily finds mention in Spanish literature as a wild-eyed liberal journalist. Looking at literary history, there were the political considerations that Ullman cited that concerned both Mexía and Larra. When the French invaded, the traditional absolutists chose to fight Napoleon, but the reform element was divided. Among the writers, one group under Manuel José Quintana and Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos felt they must fight the invading French while still moving ahead with modern French literary ideas. Ullman told how those two authors had been in favor during Charles III's reign, but not so under Charles IV. The much-hated Godoy fought all reform both literary and political as if it would keep out the ideas of the French revolution. The others were led by the dramatist Leandro Fernández de Moratín and according to Ullman simply "aligned themselves with what they considered the winning side" (7).

For many literary critics such as Del Río and others, Moratín was the author of the only works of any real value during the European Neoclassic Movement. Moratín was the transition from the nationalistic Catholic Pedro Calderón de la Barca to Romantic drama especially with *El sí de las niñas* in prose. The play's 1806 debut produced a new Romantic tendency in defense of natural human rights. The discourse in that drama challenged authority and power while championing women's educational rights and freedom to choose a spouse, both ideas that went against a traditional mother's greed and a father's illusions (Del Río 69).

Ullman astutely related the political issues to the literary success of another dramatist that had traditionally been deemed as the one who launched the Spanish Romantic Movement. Francisco Martínez de la Rosa's *La conjuración de Venecia* predated *El moro expósito* the Romantic narrative poem in the tradition of the romancero and the 1835 *Don Alvaro o la fuerza del sino* by Angel de Saavedra, el duque de Rivas.

Martínez de la Rosa belonged to Manuel José Quintana's generation rather than the true Romantics who Del Río said were born around 1808 (108). That was an important year politically with the beginning of the French invasion. All of the

external, formal and rhetorical Romantic elements were present in Martínez de la Rosa's work, but even Del Río recognized the lack of romantic soul and philosophy in his literary production. Larra spent the entire ministry of Martínez de la Rosa criticizing him just as Mexía and Morales had censured him and others from 1820 to 1823 in *El Zurriago*. None of those writers could have known that his work *La conjuración de Venecia* would for years mark the beginning of the Spanish Romantic Movement in drama along with other works such as *Aben Humeya*.

Both of the above-cited works were historical dramas, the latter written in French dealt with the Moorish rebellion in Alpujarra during the reign of Felipe II. The former, which was also historical, theatrical and dramatic, was published in Paris in 1830. It was set in a Venetian carnival scene with two lovers Rugiero and Laura. The father condemned his recently found son to death. That kind of Romantic historical theatre was related to the beginning of costumbrismo in prose. Mariano José de Larra would later follow that same thread of costumbrismo. Written in musical verse, *La conjuración de Venecia* was a hit when it opened in Madrid in 1834.

At the time of the production of *La conjuración de Venecia*, its author was the president of the new liberal government (Del Río 110). Ullman posited that the political difference in the romantic medieval revival in Martínez de la Rosa's case stemmed from the very need to find certain precedents for his parliamentary institutional reforms (83). Ullman ably studied Larra's theatrical reviews of Martínez de la Rosa's dramas for their complex political significance and relationship to the *Estatuto Real* Royal Statute, the conservative moderate constitution that was a hybrid of the French charter and the statutes of the Medieval Cortes.

Ullman also noted the different viewpoints of Martínez de la Rosa and Larra in considering the rather vague romantic notion of a relationship between the Middle Ages and the political moments they were living in the nineteenth century. The difference really was quite marked as Ullman pointed out. While Martínez romantically chose to believe in the same medieval political

revitalization touted by the ocistas, whom Ullman claimed followed Jovellanos, Larra recognized the deception of medieval political felicity (53). Those ocistas were the same liberals who Mexía claimed were moderates, men like Alcalá Galiano who authorized Mexía's death warrant resulting in his exile.

While Martínez de la Rosa supported the semblance of a consummate nationalistic project, Larra ironically portrayed the similarity only in the form of tragic chaos. Ullman said while Martínez de la Rosa was spinning out romances to convince the "plausibility of the miracle", Larra was analogizing those two periods as "curable only by disbelieved miracle" (85). Del Río tactfully maintained his position as the "justo medio" both politically and literarily. That critic also mentioned that first Romantic as prefiguring the eclectic generation about which the Romantic critic E. Allison Peers wrote. Martínez de la Rosa also left Spain as a persecuted liberal in 1823. The staging of his *La viuda de Padilla* *Padilla's Widow* in Cádiz in 1812 represented the same historical style as Mexía's works, serving as a symbol to those who were fighting the French. The play reflected a similar crisis to the one the people were living (109).

The readings in this study take Mexía's dramas to his Spanish past as well as to New World political events. While discussion of Hispanic production in the United States has been minimal in the past, with new research in the colonial field by such renowned scholars as Theodor Adorno, Antonio Cornejo Polar and others, the Hispanic colonial period is being reconsidered in the light of postcolonialism. The early nineteenth century as a separate national period in United States Hispanic letters is just beginning to be explored with many new theories¹. In the United States there were several great periods of Hispanic immigration beginning in the nineteenth century. Often times these exiles became immigrants and never returned. Their children became the native inhabitants of this country. Later immigrants or exiles constantly exposed these native Hispanics, the sons and daughters of immigrants or exiles, to new influences and behaviors. The new exiles often came with money and took over the institutions of the community. They organized into groups insisting on their ideals. That is

¹ *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*, Volume 3, offers four essays.

what happened during the Spanish Civil War period when Spaniards arrived in New York, Florida and other states. Since the fall of Franco, there has been a renewed interest in recovering the literature of Spanish exiles.

In the same sense the literature of the Spanish Civil War exiles was transnational, meaning authors may have experienced more than one exile involving different countries; much of what has been recovered in the nineteenth century in the United States transnational. One difference between literary works by immigrants and exiles involved politics. While the exile maintained a fixed gaze on the political situation that caused his banishment, and on his idyllic return, the immigrant saw return as optional and often her or she became a bridge for future generations. The exile, on the other hand, was normally conservative in the sense he or she usually desired to maintain the foreign cultural base, or at least what it was before the events that resulted in exile, superimposing the foreign culture over native United States culture. There was often linguistic resistance and usually the desire for the United States intervention in home politics. The Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project in Houston generally recognizes the above information.

Acknowledging there was historic movement called Romanticism with different manifestations in Spanish, other European, and Latin American literature, the transnational political allegory in these dramas suggests romantic sentiment as a historical reaction to political censorship. Mexía's dramas were a reflection of the forced Neoclassic Movement due to censorship in Spain. Romanticism was in full-bloom in England where the majority of the Spanish exiles had taken refuge. The political tensions of the early nineteenth-century produced literary reaction even in exile. True historic figures refigured other true historic figures and interacted with fictional characters in a fictional drama about historic events. Applying the notion of the epic as the true theatrical progenitor to Mexía's dramas, the revelation of the attending historical situation makes a romantic response possible, but suspect in its sincerity.

This type of historical drama as reflected in Oliver Stone movies, a spate of Jane Austen makeovers in the late 1990's and more to the point, Latin

American Magic Realism's reflection in movies such as "The House of the Spirits" are now common fare. But in the early decades of the nineteenth-century the development of the melodrama in Spain took place along side a patriotic theatre "con carácter de noticiario vivo" 'with the character of a live newscast' according to Rubio Jiménez. He also pointed out this type of newscast drama displayed a permeability similar to the novel (42).

Félix Mexía and Félix Varela

A document described in the introduction of the new edition of *Jicoténcal* offered an explanation for Mexía's need to allegorize in his dramatic works in Philadelphia. Luis Leal and Rodolfo Cortina acknowledged the existence of a document that provided for death in absentia for the *exaltado* liberals. They theorized Antonio Alcalá Galiano signed that legal paper, resulting in a death warrant for Varela, Mexía and many other liberals (xiii). Alcalá Galiano and Ramón de Mesonero Romanos were the two major literary chroniclers of Mexía's literary generation. That important record declared the King unfit to govern, thereby allowing for King Ferdinand VII to be replaced by a Council of Regents. Varela went into exile, as did Mexía and many others. According to Morales' footnotes in the *Carta* (75), Mexía had published secret letters in El Zurriago that had been published in London newspapers. Morales maintained in his poem that even the perfidious Ferdinand VII did not deny that his hand had written those secret papers that showed Carlos IV had been forced to abdicate his crown to Ferdinand VII (20).

When *Jicoténcal* is allegorically read, the details of the conquest of Mexico refer back to political occurrences in the Spain of Ferdinand VII the same as George Washington and our colonial freedom fighters do in *La Fayette*. Employing the same type of Greco-Roman allegory, Mexía refigured his heroes as U.S. founding fathers. The new critical edition of *Jicoténcal* provided more than just the answer to the enigma of authorship for the first Spanish-American historical indigenista novel attributing it to Father Félix Varela. However, there

are some who still question the authorship². For some, it has been difficult to accept that the first historical novel written in Spanish in the New World is decidedly part of the black legend and criticizes the Spanish treatment of the Indians. Father Félix Varela's importance as a philosopher, teacher, and religious leader who first tried to work in the system by presenting several proposals for a constitutional Cuba, then later spoke in favor of an entirely independent Cuba, is undeniable. It is an interesting turn of events that allowed for a Cuban to produce a novel about the Mexican conquest, complete with historical figures such as Hernán Cortés allegorically read as Ferdinand VII. By using Greek allegory, Cortina read Diego de Ordaz as Father Félix Varela's Alcalá Galiano in his article, "Varela's *Jicoténcal* and the and the Historical Novel" (Herrera-Sobek *Recovering Hispanic Literary Heritage* Vol III 451).

Although different genres, the drama *La Fayette* and the novel *Jicoténcal* coincide in their portrayal of the authors within the works. *Jicoténcal* features an indigenous American hero, Jicoténcal, as Félix Varela himself in an allegory of the same nineteenth-century European conflict. The condition of exile is also related to the need to refigure's one's world. North American revolutionaries had imagined their world by means of Republican philosophies based on the classic Greek and Roman world just as Félix Varela and Félix Mexía were. Both writers had a place in Spanish politics and both fled Spain in 1823 fearing for their lives. In their representation of the Spanish liberal national project, those authors produced two different discourses, Varela by refiguring himself as an indigenous hero, Mexía as a Spanish hero. However, each sought to reconstruct the past with mythic and real heroes.

Both works were written in the neoclassic vein. One is the first Hispanic American historical novel and, more importantly, the first indigenista novel. The other is a drama reflecting the desire of Félix Mexía to identify himself as closely as possible with his legendary hero, George Washington. Mexía immortalized a

² Persephone Braham acknowledges the classification of *Jicoténcal* as the first Hispanic historical novel while still questioning the author's identity. Her denial of authorship is primarily based on Rojas Garcidueñas' claim for a Spanish author. The acceptance of the work as the first *indigenista* novel is also mildly protested in her review, found in HR 65 (1997).

Spanish general in much the same way Varela immortalized an indigenous hero, by employing the Greek epic that allowed for heroes to be consecrated and magnified through death.

Historical Background for Mexía's Works: the Spanish Triennium, the Constitution of 1812, and the Uprising of Riego

The social historian Jesús Cruz pointed out the hidden cultural relations of the private sphere, which were dominant in nineteenth-century Spain. "Liberal politics and capitalist development were produced by an old dominant group that adapted new political ideas and established pragmatic positions, but really never stopped controlling the reins of power" (7). Cruz posited that the changes in the legal system were insufficient to create a society based on individual liberty and equality of opportunity. That process required not only the assimilation of new political and legal forms but also new values, attitudes and social behavior. While the Spanish Constitution of 1812 provided a legal basis to fight the repression and absolute power of Ferdinand VII, it was the uprising led by Rafael de Riego in San Juan in 1820 in support of that declaration that forced the monarch to relinquish some of his absolute rights.

Mexía's drama about Riego reflects that guerilla fighter's desire for a revolutionary dictatorship to implant a democratic republic similar to that advocated by Maximilien Robespierre. Robespierre was either the very representation of the pure and ideal cause of the revolution or simply the man responsible for the mass killing during the saddest stage of the French Revolution (Haydon and Doyle foreword). María Couceiro Seoane cited other Spanish liberal exiles, especially the ocionistas in London who later continued to defend the notion of the Constitution of 1812 as a restoration of medieval laws in a new liberal tradition expounded in the more moderate newspaper, *Ocios* (Seoane 187). *El Español Constitucional* was a source for many inflammatory articles signed only with initials or pseudonyms against that proposition (187).

The majority of the Spanish political emigration during the reign of Ferdinand VII, beginning in 1823 until the amnesty of 1832 and 1834, was to England and France. Some however, went to the United States. In 1826, Félix Mexía, a liberal

nineteenth-century Spaniard, was a political exile in Philadelphia; But his geographic location in this new space is less important than the metacommentary in his drama *La Fayette* that suggests a concept of revolutionary transgression based on class conflicts that had not occurred in Spain. Those conflicts had scarcely begun in Europe. Chauncey Buckley of Philadelphia provided an English translation of this same two-act drama entitled *La Fayette in Mount Vernon*. Mexía wrote the play and published it along with that translation during the actual Washington, D. C., visit of the Marquis de La Fayette, French moderate liberal and defender of social reform in his own country.

La Fayette forms part of the literary production of Félix Mexía, which had begun in Spain with *El Zurriago*. Mexía and Morales had published one of the most controversial newspapers of the Constitutional Triennium. According to Dolores Gómez and others, that newspaper created a certain style that spawned a school of followers (28). *El Zurriago* went to press from time to time without a fixed day delivery probably allowing its editors to continually move, hide or escape persecution, physical attacks, jailing, and even assassination attempts (Gómez 98). The literary critic Alberto Gil Novales vouched for the incendiary quality of its satirical style *exaltado* material in his article in the *Bulletin Hispanique* (165). The *zurriaguistas* themselves affirm their position in the very first issue, first page:

Este es un periódico que va a divertir a muchos y hacer rabiar a unos cuantos. Sus editores se constituyen en guerra abierta con los abusos, con los que viven de los abusos, con los que abusen de su autoridad: con los periodistas que en vez de dirigir la opinión la estravien: con los aduladores (infames sacristanes de amén) que conceden su aprobación a cuanto dicen y hacen los poderosos: con los oradores de la Fontana que se descuidan: con los que obran por espíritu de partido, corporación, y se separan de la senda de la razón, y en una palabra, con todos los que aparezcan pecadores por la codicia del dinero, de un empleillo, o cosa semejante.

This is a newspaper that will provide diversion for many and incense a few. It's editors find themselves in open warfare against the abuses; those who live with the abuses; those who abuse their authority; with those journalists who instead of directing public opinion, mislead; with those sycophants, infamous sacristans of amen; who concede approval to whatever they say and make them powerful people; with the orators at the Golden Fountain Bar who speak carelessly; with those who only work within the confines of party or corporation not following the path of reason, and in a word, with all of those who appear to be greedy sinners for money, a job or other such. (1.1)

The aggressive style observed in the quote above reflected the tensions existing among a variety of different groups: *liberales exaltados* vs. *liberales moderados*; *serviles conservadores* vs. *absolutistas* and various combinations of those groups. Although each issue of that newspaper created new partisans or enemies, its publication was propitious for freedom of the press. With its very combative style and satirically pointed criticism, it was very popular with the working classes (Gómez 31). According to Iris Zavala, *El Zurriago* was the voice of the most disruptive element attacking the more conservative element that clandestinely or openly supported the restoration of the Old Regime ("la prensa exaltada" 367). The *zurriaguistas* or other *exaltados* even went as far as burning competitive publishing houses such as the absolutist newspapers *El Universal* and *El Imparcial* (Gómez 31). Although the editors of *El Zurriago* suffered persecution, they had followers. Mexía and Morales managed to publish ninety-five issues during French domination before the restoration of Ferdinand VII by the dreaded one hundred thousand sons of St. Louis (Gómez 38). From 1821 to 1823, this newspaper along with one hundred twenty others made up the *cuarto poder*, the fifth estate. These newspapers went beyond the monarch, the judicial, and legislative branches, reflecting the ideological battle among different liberal groups in Spain. As the unofficial fourth branch of political power, these newspapers wielded their own kind of political power.

It is possible to trace the origins of this concept of mural style newspapers as far back as the great baroque authors such as Lope de Vega y Carpio or Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra who Antonio Ramos-Gascón cited as practitioners of this rather forgotten poetic sub-genre. Ramos-Gascón also recognized the Russian revolutionary influence (34). Other critics such as Iris Zavala and María Cruz Seoane noted the importance of *El Zurriago*'s political satire as a precursor to the brand of *costumbrismo* cultivated by Mariano José de Larra a few years later. This same *costumbrista* mode affected the writing style of both Mexía and Larra. Mexía used his prose-writing skill more in *La Fayette* than in *Riego*, which still basically followed the neoclassic guidelines of a historical tragedy. The dialogue of a common marital disagreement begins *La Fayette* reflecting a specific language use unrelated to the eloquent speeches Mexía as Washington's relative and La Fayette employ. Scenes one and two of the first act are featured in Hamilton and Margaret's humble cottage.

Considering Mexía's journalism background, it is logical to assume when faced with a rather straightforward news account in dramatic form that there must be more under the surface. The drama *La Fayette* is based on the historic visit made by La Fayette to the United States in 1824. Marie-Joseph Paul Yves Roch Gilbert du Motier, the Marquis de La Fayette, was a moderate liberal who urged social equality, popular representation, religious tolerance, and freedom of the press. His lofty ideals left him at odds with both extremes in his own country. The radical revolutionaries and the Jacobins, felt he did not support drastic enough social changes, while the Royalists saw him as a traitor to his class. La Fayette was the same man who in real life presented Simón Bolívar with the gold medal sent to him by George Washington P. Custis. The ceremony was a historic event referred to in Mexía's drama.³

La Fayette was very involved in early nineteenth century revolutionary activity both in Europe and in the United States. With the empire of Napoleon collapsing, there began a period of unrest, not only in Spain, but also in all of

³ Nicolás Vegas Rolando confirms the historical presentation of the medallion in *Como se ligan las revoluciones y sus hombres: Washington, Bolívar, Miranda y La Fayette*.

Europe as monarchs looked to reoccupy their thrones. During this period in Spain, the *serviles* desiring to renew the crown with attending religious power and feudal rights opposed Spanish liberals. Meanwhile the liberals themselves later were divided basically into two factions, *moderados* and *exaltados*, with the former usually being men of property and the latter more radical urban types. The historian Bergamini qualified “radicals” as “middle class, intellectuals and lower-ranking army officers” (164). Those liberals supported the Constitution of 1812 limiting the Spanish King’s power, granting sovereignty to the people, guaranteeing freedom of speech, and abolishing the Inquisition.

Raymond Carr accused the urban liberals of a lack of imagination in their imitation of French doctrines. In 1814, after signing the Treaty of Valençay, Ferdinand VII was set free. Before returning to Madrid he voided the Cortes de Cádiz, but here historians are not completely in agreement. For Federico Suárez, his actions are coherent because he never actually recognized the Cortes (14) and that historian referred to the King’s about-face as an intermediary path. Miguel Artola Galbgo rightly saw the decrees of May fourth as a military coup (93).

This rather simplified short overview of really quite complex historical, political, and social issues is reductive, but it is necessary to address placement of the two dramas by Félix Mexía treated in the last two chapters of this work. Félix Mexía and Benigno Morales simply believed the king’s actions made Ferdinand VII a traitor to all he had promised.

The *Carta*, a letter penned in forty-nine pages of verse and a total of one hundred and seventy-one pages of prose, contains detailed descriptions of the events leading to Morales’ death and Mexía’s exile. Evidently written from Morales’ prison cell, the *Carta* details the intrigues, deceptions, and plots in Spain from 1814 to 1824 from the *zurriaguistas*’ point of view. In 1825, Mexía published the long letter in Philadelphia supposedly exactly as it had been received from Morales.

By 1814, Spain had just endured a long series of wars, and Ferdinand VII had few reserves with which to maintain his kingdom after it was restored to him. In 1815, Spanish troops headed to the New World to try to crush the

independence movements. The situation in Spain was one of purges and persecution that included the reestablishment of the Inquisition, and numerous uprisings. *El pronunciamiento*, a word coined during this period from 1814 to 1824, while not actually a coup, represented heroic military gestures in a form of “caesarism” that set up “petty dictatorships” according to the military historian Esdaile (168).

The liberals saw a standing army as an obstacle, only guaranteeing the privileges of despotism leading to a kind of “national impotence” (169). Benigno Morales comments on the role of the aristocracy in the military in the *Carta*. Liberal theory maintained that military might was dependent on societal institutions. Great Britain was the liberal archetype for political freedom. The notion was that a disciplined national army would not defend freedom, which they themselves did not enjoy. They preferred a citizen’s militia. Esdaile cited the historical precedents as glorious ancient “Greece and Rome, the Reconquista, the successful defense of Swiss independence, and the American War of Independence all being attributed to citizen armies” (169).

Morales reflected all of these ideas in his romance histórico as part of the *Carta* published by Mexía (39-40). Mexía supported the nation’s right to rise up “en masa para cobrar la libertad perdida” ‘to rise up in mass to regain lost liberty’ and the character Riego, following his real life model made just such a statement in *Riego* (23). In 1814, General Espoz y Mina led one of the first of these pronunciamientos in Navarra. Esdaile pointed out that many officers such as Espoz y Mina allied with the revolutionary forces in a “marriage of convenience” for professional advancement (199). Félix Mexía dedicated the dramatic work studied in chapter four to “Señor Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, his beloved general, for all posterity with the names of Washington and La Fayette”.⁴

Mexía dedicated another dramatic work to a different hero, Rafael del Riego (1785-1823).⁵ First he published *Riego* in Philadelphia in 1824, then in

⁴ José Alberich cited the general’s opposing view in a bilingual text, *A Brief Extract of the Life of Gen. Mina by the General Himself*. London: Taylor & Hessey, 1825.

⁵ Alberich also provides a valuable bibliography on Riego with several sources on the *Romancero de Riego*, made up of romances about that Spanish hero.

Mexico in 1825. There was also a dedicatory note to Simón Bolívar in the prologue of the same work suggesting his "Héroe Riego" be included with "los grandes sacerdotes que nos enseñaron a romper las cadenas de la esclavitud en el siglo XIX". 'the great priests that taught us to break the chains of slavery in the nineteenth century'. The historian Carr called Riego's revolution "une crise de conscience" not only for Spain, but also for all of Europe (13). He considered the expedition of Rafael de Riego y Nuñez' nephew to Mexico in 1817 to be the connection between the liberal uprisings in Spain and uprisings in America, which were actually two different enterprises. Mexía obviously had not considered the real issues of the chains of slavery already being fought in the New World.

While Peninsular Spaniards sought to pacify the colonists with a new constitution, Hispanic Americans saw the Constitution of 1812 as simply an extension of the same despotism represented by Cortes. They were not courting liberal philosophical principles, but rather free trade and complete control of their own rights. Interestingly enough, at this point there was still a constitutional solution, but apparently the King's unbending attitude made this impossible. It was this lack of interest and the failure of the Spanish liberals to produce a coherent American doctrine, combined with military impotence, which helped strengthen the American movement.

The archaeological task involved in this work was to mesh the complex historical events on both continents with their allegorical portrayal in these dramas. By reading his dramatic exile works through his ideological writings with history as a backdrop, it is possible to discern his allegorical literary artistry. As in an archaeological or anthropological search for artifacts, this researcher located Mexía's dramatic exile works. They represent expressions of identity in exile, embodiments of romantic revolutionary idealism, and prime examples of political allegory.

Hispanic Identity in Exile

The quantity of bibliography available with regard to writers in exile is staggering. Not that much less daunting is work reflecting the specific experience of Hispanic exiles. The articles in the *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the*

United States: Literature and Art edited by Francisco Lomeli provide an important source for information regarding the exile condition and an invaluable guide to United States Hispanic literary categorization. Separation from homeland is a crucial choice, creating an artificial life and an unreal existence displaced from the grounding of the Motherland. Juan Armando Epple in his article "Hispanic Exile in the United States" employed the notion of the exile as a shadow figure from the Latin term *exil umbra* as used by José Ortega y Gasset following the ancient Romans. That concept is important in treating exile works.

Emphasizing the lack of political existence of the exile in his country of estrangement, the shadow is a powerful metaphor. More to the point of the dramas under study is the comparison of the sad plight of exile to death as an ancient notion to which Epple attests ("Hispanic Exile in the United States" 334). Mexía considers he is politically dead and for that reason he creates a dramatic shadow of himself in order to reach his audience. As an individual without rights in a place he did not choose to be, this existence produces many different manifestations. Since before the Biblical longings of Zion, the exile has found he is suspended in that space that begins with leaving his native land and would only end with his hypothetical return to his lost paradise.

The need of the exile to return to that which no longer exists is a metaphysical problem relating to the void created by his leaving his homeland. This conundrum is similar to the concept of the return to Zion, which initially was nothing more than the name of a hill located in the southeastern part of Jerusalem. After David captured the hill, it was called the City of David. Then, after the exiled Jews returned, they built a temple, it was called Zion, and so the Bible says Jerusalem became known as *the daughter of Zion* and this term was also applied to all the people of Israel. Later in the New Testament, Zion became a kind of Messianic Kingdom. So even in the idea of remembering Zion, there is a certain ambiguity of what it is or was.

The denunciation of what drove them from their country in the first place, an unfavorable political climate, became an all-encompassing cultural identity reflected in their literary production. Epple quoted Salvador Jiménez Fajardo on

Michael Ugarte's book *Shifting Ground: Spanish Civil War in Exile Literature* concerning the importance of "locus": "When this space is absent, linguistic authority tends to become diffused because an utterance's validity depends to a degree on its being granted the exile by the addressee." (334).

Back in the homeland, those writers belonged to a particular institution, party, or profession. The power structure of their very language depended on their place in that society. Bordieu referred to that as "symbolic capital" or "locus amoenus", ekphrasis, or topos, Greek for 'place' (334). Fajardo continued by stating that the only way for the exile to retain authority was to take a position in the nostalgic past. Epplé cited a series of stages that begin with nostalgia in a testimonial sense. After this "reproductive" or "memorializing", the second stage which obviously is a demand for change in the home country, is eventually replaced by a new force, a result of the new culture and its reaction to exile. This different reality sometimes results in a dialogue with the other culture.

Because of the timelessness of exile theory it is possible to apply concepts retrospectively that might otherwise be anachronisms. Among the myriad of articles, theses, and books written about the Spanish Civil War exiles, Carlos Blanco Aguinaga sums up a number of basic fundamental similarities among that set of exile writers in "One such likeness is that the exile of 1939 was from the beginning, one that was expected to be long lasting, if not permanent. Not only did they consider themselves "refugiados" 'refugees', but the international organizations and the countries offering asylum also treated them as such. After a period of ten to fourteen years, the term "desterrados" 'exiles' came into vogue to describe a "refugio" which suggested the possibility of a permanent 'refuge'. However, as Aguinaga astutely pointed out there was no such thing as permanent refugees, since the older generation by that time had become quite adapted to an American way of life. Those who arrived as children had grown up as Americans.

The author took note, especially in Mexico, of the rather straightforward acknowledgment of the real material need for and contribution of writers to their adoptive countries. At the end of the fifties, those exiles apparently were prospering along with the rest of the middle class. It was at this point of every-day

direct participation that the denotation for those writers became “trasterrados”. But Blanco Aguinaga pointed out, “no se resuelve en un happy ending del trasterro” (251). That term did not allow for the discrepancies or ambiguity, as well as ghosts from the past that haunted those who fled fascism. Here there is a clear retrospective analogy to those who fled despotism and the march of Napoleon in the prior century. These contradictions are readily apparent in the literature they produced, such as the following opposing verses by León Felipe:

La España de la tierra ya no me importa más que para sacar de allí
a los que aún buscan justicia

Y hoy me lo juego todo por la España de la sangre. Esa
España...estas latitudes del aire de la luz.

The Spanish soil no longer matters to me except to get out those
who still seek justice

And today I put it all on the line for my Spanish bloodline. That
Spain...these light airy latitudes (252)

Aguinaga quoted Luis Cernuda's identification with the humbleness of the Mexican people who reminded him of his own Andalucía, “también pobre y también grave” ‘also poor and serious’ (252). According to Cernuda, even the very language of the Mexicans allowed for a living tribute to Spain's destiny. Perhaps León Felipe and Luis Cernuda were not looking for the American in America, as Blanco Aguinaga indicates (252), but rather a certain continuity of the Spanish presence in the New World. Despite their enthusiasm for all things Latin American, in the midst of all their literary and other activity there was a certain longing, “un vacío, una presencia de muerte” ‘and emptiness, a presence of death’ (253), which kept many of these “refugiados” from becoming authentic “trasterrados”.

Blanco Aguinaga considered, among others, the French poet of Greek origin, Juan Papadiamantópulos Moreas and one of the founders of Dadaism, Tristán Tzara as “trasterrados literarios.” He went from the world of poetry to narrative to look at Vladimir Nabokov and Joseph Conrad who he said affected the literature of their countries of origin indirectly, by way of the hegemonic

culture in which they wrote. His thesis was three-fold: first, was that the dominant tendency was to write in one's own language and to remain in the problematic cause of exile; second, the writing of voluntary exiles would affect the course of literary narrative in their own countries and third, excluding the language changes in Nabokov and Conrad, their influence would not be felt directly in the course of the narrative in the asylum country (253).

Considering the specific case of Félix Mexía a century earlier, it becomes absolutely necessary to confront ghosts of both European and American political history. For those who sought refuge, whether political, economic or imaginative over the years were invariably drawn to the freedom of speech and press available in the United States. As strong magnets from the very beginning of this nation, the democratic identity of the United States and its institutions as the first republic in the Americas attracted people. There was a desire to copy those rather attractive principles that allowed for confident expression of opposition. Here they would be able to publish newspapers, journals, magazines, political treatises and books. As they arrived, they congregated with others to form exile communities that often organized political clubs, unions, religious groups and others to raise funds and consciousness to fight their causes.

Blanco Aguinaga noted an important tendency among the exiles of 1939, that they were occupied mainly with the world they left behind. He included a long list of authors, including Max Aub, Ramón J. Sender, Francisco Ayala, Manuel Andújar, Arturo Barea, among many others. Epple commented that despite the small number, the exiles from Spain to the United States had a tremendous impact on America's universities. They provided a source of reference for Hispanic studies in the United States for many years. The intellectual work, both conservative and liberal, has yet to be dealt with in a systematic study of the entire exile group ("Hispanic Exile in the United States" 349). The length of time spent in exile is not important; the illusion of an imminent return to Spain is always present. Authors like Sender and Ayala who ended up living in the United States and those who lived the great social transformations of Mexico took up a leftist position. Unlike James Joyce in

Switzerland or Thomas Mann in the United States, without changing language like Joseph Conrad or Vladimir Nabokov, the exiles of 1939 wrote Latin American narrative.

What right did those authors have to consider Hispanic American reality? The Spanish critic brought up an important point concerning territorial issues (255). He mentioned qualified examples of legitimate concern, for example the importance of belonging to the tribe (255), and an intimate relationship with the subject matter. Perhaps the most important point of “*Otros tiempos, otros espacios en la narrativa española del exilio en América*” ‘Other Times, Other Spaces in Spanish Exile Narrative in America’ is that literary works, as he said, are not people. That was precisely the idea caught up in the binary opposition present throughout his essay. That Spanish writers sought to write Latin American dictator novels brought them smack up against the history of Spanish colonialism (256), which would not allow those works to be a part of Latin American literary history. For writers who wrote some thirty years after having left Spain like those exiled in 1939, Cernuda spoke of a literary “limbo” (256) where those texts, not the writers themselves resided. They were neither American texts, nor Spanish texts because of the censorship that disconnected them from their own readers in Spain during the dictatorship of Franco.

The analogy to the works presently being considered is unmistakable. The dramatic works of the journalist/dramatist/businessman Félix Mexía faced the same literary limbo. After suffering years of imprisonment and persecution by Spanish political and religious authorities, Mexía chose exile, if only temporary, to continue to allegorize political situations. The suggestion here is not the canonization of the dramas questioned in this study, merely the use of these texts to reach other perspectives regarding exile identity in regard to works produced in Spanish. Hence, the justification for considering individual works by Spaniards and others is that they do not neatly fit into the tripartite categories of interest which considers the major Mexican American literature of the Southwest, and that of Cuban and Puerto Rican extraction.

The variety and number of distinct writing groups in United States Hispanic literature are daunting at the least. Literary history and canons face the dilemma of whom to include in the United States Hispanic canon, where and with what justification. In seeking to establish an early Hispanic foothold in the literary production of this country, it is interesting to note that there were exiles from a number of different fledgling Spanish-speaking countries, as well as Peninsular Spaniards present in Philadelphia in 1826. Leal and Cortina included a partial list of those men in the introduction to *Jicoténcal* including "Félix Mejía" (xxiii).

The Case for Political Allegory

The allegory was an appropriate art form for early nineteenth-century liberal writers all over the world. Despite difficult censorship, newspapers had spread the revolutionary word in allegorical reference or code to political issues that could not be dealt with directly. Mexía using political allegory had been able to denounce repressive politics in *El Zurriago* before his exile: the laws that shut down patriotic societies, the disbanding of the voluntary national militia, and the imprisonment of popular heroes. Those political issues were ones Mexía and other Spanish liberals had hoped to see resolved by support of the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Seduced by power, Ferdinand VII failed to honor his populous promises as a constitutional monarch. Those same concerns found dramatically different historical references, but the dramatic allegorical format is basically the same one employed by Mexía in *El Zurriago*.

Mexía's two dramas should be read as political allegory. However, the term *allegory* in Western literary terminology eludes a strict definition. It has been applied since ancient times to such diverse form: as a literary trope, a sustained metaphor, or simply ironic discourse. Some critics even apply the term to any reformulation in altered terminology. Use of the analogy allows for a broader look at political discourse, which crosses historical, philosophical and political boundaries. It is possible to conceive the term as a concept, as part of history, a reflection of conscience, or literary structure.

It may even be possible to compare allegory to the structure of verb tenses in Spanish. Since there are a variety of tenses, but only two mood changes,

indicative and subjunctive, they would correlate to the two analogous procedures that allegory represent: a way of writing a work and a way of reading it.

Ancient Greek and Roman scholars applied a very specific rhetorical meaning to allegory. Originally allegory meant a brief trope, but Schlegel expanded the concept of a general tension in literary language. Such expansion in scope of meaning demonstrates how literary works always aspire to express that which cannot be expressed. De Man's comments in *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* concerning narratives that can inform against conflicts in their own value systems are very pertinent to Mexía's dramatic works (31).

Current trends allow for varying degrees of allegorical expression. The fictional autonomy of the text and how many different ambient factors point to another set of principles, actions or circumstances are both important considerations. Ambivalence in allegorical language is an artistic sign in composition that the text will allow for different interpretations. An allegorical interpretation helps preserve the author's intent and in a sense it canonizes it. Historically, allegorical strategy resulted in the exegesis of a text not as mythology, but rather as sacred text.

By the end of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the Christian cosmovision had extended to include a variety of mythological stories. Frank Kermode provided a very understandable explanation of that process. He described the beginning of fiction with a wave of Greek influence over Christian philosophy in the form of Genesis and Revelation. For the Greeks the world was a cosmos, but for the Hebrews it was a history (Berdyayev 69). Kermode outlined the Christian philosophers in the thirteenth century who fought with the Aristotelian vision that nothing can come from nothing or that the world is eternal.

The concept of eternity without beginning or end can be rightly attributed to the Spanish philosopher Averroes whose commentaries on Aristotle's works had a profound influence on medieval philosophers reading the works in Latin translated from Arabic. His studies directed the Christian philosophers towards

Greek philosophy that had fallen into decadence at that point. St. Thomas proposed that reason could prove neither the creation of anything, nor the idea of an eternal world: One must believe only by revelation. Equinas saved the Christian origin, but substituted an Aristotelian explanation, according to Kermode, creating the rationale for angels that are not the same as God, or material like us, but rather agents capable of acts of power and intellect (43). The use of literary time, which Kermode said was different than space, followed St. Augustine in his peculiar description of angels as between time and eternity (57). In the political allegory *La Fayette*, Mexía described George Washington as “el ángel tutelar...” ‘guardian angel’ that faced with the events that led up to the American Revolution:

En esta situación: en este inmenso
Océano de males y penas...
Tremoló el estandarte de la guerra
Y marchó osado con sus compatriotas
A repelar la fuerza con la fuerza
In that situation: in this immense
Ocean of sadness and sorrows
Unfurled the banner of war
And marched fearlessly with his compatriots
To turn back force with force (26)

The dignity and restraint employed by Washington in his respect of Congress while exercising his presidential power is reflected by his title of “Farmer Patriot”. Mexía made note of the eternal memory through death of this “guerrero y labrador” ‘warrior and laborer’ by his stability and authority in initiating a very specific list of services to the fledgling republic. The dramatist immediately followed the enumeration of what he suggested produced the results he was observing in the United States with the problems under the violence of tyranny where “...millones de hombres infelices/Ante sus opresores se prosternan/Y humildes besan la terrible mano/Que remacha sus grillos y

cadenas..." 'millions of unhappy men/Before their oppressors prostrate/And humbled they kiss the terrible hand/That smashes the cuffs and chains...'

Mexía moves from the fictional drama to real life historical events having to do with the judicial system, commerce, banking system, etc. (27). In his heroic death, this guardian angel will live through the centuries with other heroes who never really die, but live through their heroic actions. In his desire to refigure his beloved General Espoz y Mina as the United States founding father, Mexía followed classical precepts depicted in the other arts. For example, Anne-Louis Girodet's painting *Ossian Receiving the Spirits of French Heroes* (1802) reflected the reception of the immortal heroes of Napoleon's Egyptian and Italian campaigns into the Celtic *Morren* or "resting place". That painting depicted the bard Ossian receiving Jean-Baptiste Kléber, Louis Desaix, and other French soldiers killed in those campaigns. After Victor Hugo's concern for social justice that potent force came to represent the exiled Napoleon himself that would generally turn Romantics from royalism to Bonapartism (Harvey 28). That kind of Romantic Bonapartism later would move away from the myth of the Great Man Mexía employed in his dramas to a more democratic or socialistic worldview.

The ambiguous relationship of allegory to scriptural sources gave back their historical value to sacred texts. Even in Biblical parables, which differ from the allegory only in the emphasis of one particular profound truth and not a set of historical correspondences as found in the present drama, there was a desire to reveal another truth employing the telling of the same story. There was already the desire to alter the conscience of the reader. The reader must undo the dialectic knot with his subjective conscience and it is in that process that self-questioning begins. Kierkegaard also noted that a parable is not easily identifiable, or ready-to-wear, but rather a gift that one must open and then think how it may be used (iv). The same type of parabolic ideology apparent in Biblical stories such as "The Prodigal Son" and "The Good Samaritan" are after all not so far removed from George Washington portrayed as guardian angel caring for the country in *La Fayette*.

The relationship of allegory to sacred texts provided an authority, at the same time a vision of the future that had yet to be written, only in prophesy. At the end of the Middle Ages there were more and more apocalyptic forms. By the Renaissance and the Neoclassic period, those changes between fiction and fact became a rather formal design. At that point how one text related to another was revealed in the relationship of imaginative language to formal structure. Structural decorum reigned and the Italian critics of the sixteenth century, under the influence of Aristotle's *Poetics* insisted on the formalities of composition including unity of characters, action, place, time and theme, as well as credibility. Allegory was reserved precisely to give credibility to the fantastic back then. In Mexía's dramatic works, while still holding to most of these neoclassical precepts, the reverse action was true because he employed allegory to go from credible historic figures or dramatic characters to an incredible allegorical portrayal of a political constitution as a woman/wife/mother. His refiguration of the constitution may have even been on a preconscious level just as in ancient oral or written sacred texts. Whatever an author holds sacred (God, gods, politics, liberty, independence, justice, honor, or a political constitution) is often left behind in his writing as traces on the page.

That preconscious level was not exploited in structuralist literary criticism although it provided a unique system in the form of a grid to judge literary works. The arbitrary nature of the sign, as postulated in De Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics* was the basis for the modern structuralist movement. Since a structure is a system of differences, studied independently of what it or its parts might mean outside of the system, a structuralist appears to view words only in their differential relationship to other words on anthropological or linguistic terms.

This researcher has chosen to baptize Mexía's dramatic exile works political allegories. Choosing to move beyond a particular critical reading, such as a structuralist one, to a rather eclectic set of theoretical underpinnings allowed the political allegory to emerge. The use of allegory results in a rather formal ideology or discourse that is ritualized with symbolic values. We can follow Plato's description of poetry as an imitation of an imitation, twice removed from

the truth, to Saussure's writings couched in Western metaphysics, which presumed *logos* as Webster's philosophical definition of the 'rational principle that governs and develops the universe', based on the Greek translation of *logo* as word. The transcendental signifier, which revealed the power of *a priori* knowledge), *parole* was prioritized over *langue*, leaving writing a displaced second..

Mexía's dramatic exile works contain *traces* of his political past that have remained under the external layer of two simple acts in the drama *La Fayette*. The identification of those written traces spawned this study. Deconstruction as a literary critical method is identified with the French philosopher Jacques Derrida. The two critical readings in the last chapters owe much to Derrida's theory that implied critical readings can make a work exist.

The idea that *literature*, used here in its broadest sense, represents all that has been said about it could have taken this researcher into the area of canonization of literary works. While that topic had to be addressed in relation to the identity of *Riego* and *La Fayette*, it is not the final goal of these two critical readings. Since research on these two dramas, recovered only recently in the United States, revealed no prior commentary on the subject, this researcher proposed to *deconstruct* the works in Derridean terms.

Endowed with the title of "decentered" subject, this researcher proposed to locate the traces that reveal Mexía's political allegory. Delving into the political and historical background of *Riego* and *La Fayette*, rather than a genealogical background of the author uncovered the traces necessary for this researcher's two readings based in part on his science of "grammatology".

Derrida showed that speech was subject to the same logic as writing, extending Saussure's arbitrary nature of the sign to speech which must be inscribed as the signifier of the signified absent to both systems. He then proceeded to deconstruct that tradition of logocentric metaphysics (always assigning origin of truth to logos, the spoken word, voice of reason or word of God) by means of a new science called "grammatology" foregrounding writing in preference to speech for tracing the displacement of signifiers. Derrida chose to deconstruct the value of

voice over the mute signs of writing, reversing the binary historical and cultural oppositions common to phonocentrism. In that way such concepts as voice/writing, sound/silence, being/nonbeing, reality/image, thing/sign, truth/lie, presence/absence, signified/signifier were reversed. Mexía's two written dramatic exile texts take precedence over all other materials used.

Derrida imagined a science before it even became one, presenting grammatology as a radical challenge to structuralism. Jacques Derrida also found in the work of Claude Levi-Strauss the analogy of the differential sign in describing myths as bundles of relations or differences. The author's interest in advancing the argument of writing over speech could be revealed through his reading of Levi-Strauss. In *Structure, Sign and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences*, Derrida focused on the peculiar idea of structure as a totalization for any system, presuming to give closure and coherence, which he said could not work with the element of play in the signifier.

A structure was generated then repressed by the requirement of closure. The association of totalization to totalitarian is not entirely clear to this researcher-reader, but possible in the idea that a logical relation cannot be separated from its political oppositions as in the case of censorship. Closure then becomes a type of repression, particularly the origin concerning genesis of any given structure. Also amplifying on the analysis of Claude Levi-Strauss begun in *Structure, Sign and Play*, Derrida proposed in *De la grammatologie* to explain how the contradictions of classic logic drafted modern concepts in the social sciences, and linguistics in particular. The logical oppositions in *Riego* and *La Fayette* provide for an open critical reading of the historical and political traces through allegory.

Supplement, as used by Levi-Strauss, possessed a double meaning, to supply the missing, as well as supplying another something. In that manner, there was always something more to be understood. Derrida described this process as a floating one, emphasizing the double direction of the process taking it back to Saussure. "The strange structure of the *supplement* appears...by delayed reaction, a possibility produces that to which it is said to be added on" (Harland 130). Such

philosophers as Frederick Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger also reviewed that ontological dilemma.

Perhaps Derrida's strongest argument for his claim that writing precedes speech rested upon his rejection of the German philosopher Edmund Husserl's phenomenological theory of language as presented by Richard Harland in *Superstructuralism*. Husserl's human language posited an absolute distinction between human and natural signs. That German philosopher felt true language had to be willfully intended by an utterer because relation to non-verbal phenomena making it incidental to linguistic signs could also form association. That necessity that words mean only because someone means them to mean something naturally pushed Husserl's theory of language toward speech. (For example: what I meant was ...what I was trying to say was...). Husserl was the promoter of pure phenomenology or a science of the essence of meaning.

Derrida totally reversed Husserl's argument by seeing written language as self-sufficient: "The structure, peculiar to language alone, allows it to function entirely by itself when its intention is cut off from intuition" (Harland 127). Again in *De grammatologie*, Derrida insisted that writing was language at its most self-sufficient because it was language at its most spatial. It did not exist briefly and transparently as sound waves, but rather as solid, enduring marks on a page. There was no need for those marks to be propped up by their maker's presence. Actually that person was always absent, maybe dead.

That idea is crucial to the placement of the newly found dramatic works in this study. For as often times was the case in early nineteenth-century exile writings, the author wrote under a pseudonym, anonymously, or simply signed with initials. The text becomes the writer's voice and reveals his political commitments. Writing releases thought from consciousness, functioning as an aide-memoire. Derrida said "writing, a mnemotechnic means, supplanting good...spontaneous memory, signifies forgetfulness...its violence befalls the soul as unconsciousness" (Harland 128).

The bottom line of Derrida's model was language-superseded speech. Phonetic languages fit the model, but in Chinese and Egyptian that have

hieroglyphic and ideogram scripts the written sign does not need the spoken sign to signify. Historically the development of those scripts preceded phonetic scripts. Derrida denied the logical assumption that the truest form is the original one. So even though speech precedes language in human development, there is no rational justification to assume rediscovering primitive communication will explain language. With this radical separation of historical and conceptual priority according to Spinoza, Derrida said the fact of writing followed from the fact of speech, but the idea of speech depended upon the idea of writing. Writing became the logically fundamental condition to which language aimed.

Derrida reversed Husserl's mental meaning behind verbal meaning as a means of controlling the verbal message. Instead, the writer only discovered the meaning in the act of writing. He said, "Before me, the signifier on its own says more than I believe that I meant to say and in relation to it, my meaning-to-say is submissive rather than active." (Harland 132) The writer just became another reader, which is exactly where this reader-researcher is leading with these details.

Derrida refused any conscious meaning in the sense of movement from marks on the page to mental concepts. When we could find only absence and emptiness for the elusive signified, Derrida told us that the signified was merely an illusion that we invented not to deal with the materialism of language. The signifiers are always signifying, pointing away from themselves to other signifiers, constantly in motion in a state of dissemination. That concept was different from *univocity*, which is 'the state of single meanings maintained by the signified in the reader's mind'.

Dissemination goes on in perpetuity as unfulfilled meaning in the absence of all signifieds. Language supplanted human control, revealing its own creativity to which writers and readers alike must succumb. There was no social or individual responsibility. In that endlessly unbalanced state, words no longer pushed against each other at the same time, they pushed successively, like falling dominoes of causal units.

The Saussurean *langue* that bounced from positive to negative now flowed from pole to pole in electrical terms. With that new model, Derrida brought a new

dimension of study to structuralism, the dimension of time, which was excluded from the structuralist model. This is exactly the point of approaching Mexía's exile dramatic works with a variety of critical processes. With *differance*, Derrida provided two meanings: difference as distinction, inequality or discernibility and the interposition of delay, the interval of a spacing and temporalizing, which allowed for the presently denied to be put off until later. Thus, the conception of time deferred meaning only for the present, and in time the deferred meaning flowed over into it. An uttered word existed by its deferring of unuttered words. From Plato in particular to the Greek language in general, *parole* to *langue* was generated in that theory of language.

Another area of deconstruction of structuralism was opposing traditional philosophical dualism of mind/matter, soul/body, spirit/natural world. Derrida saw a tremendous inequality in those oppositions. "In a classical philosophical opposition we are not dealing with the peaceful coexistence of a vis-à-vis, but rather with a violent hierarchy. One of the two terms governs the other...or has the upper hand." (Harland 142). Rising up against this mind-soul-spirit concept was the unconscious mind in the form of writing, which Derrida called arch-writing, a theory Harland contended he derived from Sigmund Freud, especially in his essay "Note on the Mystic Writing Pad" (143).

He used Freud's mechanical model for perception and memory in the neurological system of the brain, where a force in the perceptual circuits opened up a pathway or trace of lowered electro-chemical resistance. That trace then remained as the physical form of an unconscious memory, a rut along which future forces could flow more easily and follow. Derrida connected that theory to the writing inscribed upon the waxed base of the "mystic writing pad," with the channel hollowed out by the stylus.

The important part was that Derrida combined the sign with causal force that had the effect of deconstructing the phenomenological concept of an absolute present moment, the idea of things themselves. The legibility of writing came not from the stylus pressing down, but the darkness of the base that showed up. "Writing . . . supplements perception before perception even appears to itself."

(Harland 144). That was a valid advance to the philosophical idea of psychic vision as a movie theater, a non-stop picture show inside the head. Derrida's theory is particularly apt for dealing with *Riego* and *La Fayette* because it allows for an explanation of the creative process that is allegory. As the preceding outline of allegory's history revealed, it has been described as a trope, a metaphor, or discourse.

Derrida saw consciousness as an illusion that humans invented fearing a purely materialist conception of the brain. Mind was a signified that we ascribe to the brain, divine spirit as a signified, we connect to the natural world, etc., etc. All of those impressions were in Derridean terms mere versions of logos, just a type of wishful thinking that his theory of writing as a theory of materialism deconstructed. That type of materialism provided for a path akin to meditation, a comparison made by Harland, as an expanding, unfolding general meaningfulness. Beyond the historical literary definition of allegory as trope, metaphor, or discourse then is this meditation, or open reading.

In that way linguistic claims of truth underwent a transformation, resulting in an opening up of literary language. By connecting its creative play with strategies of power, with real historical forces, writers could undercut authority, destabilize institutions, and realign social values and hierarchies by demystifying with revolutionary aims.

That was the real paradox of literature already commented on by Søren Kierkegaard in *God Becoming Man in Christian Theology*, William von Schlegel, who linked it closer to poetry and irony in the human experience and Wordsworth in "Composed Upon Westminster Bridge" (Princeton Encyclopedia 881). Closer to the dramatic texts at hand would be the *mode of encodement*, a term used by Hayden White.

Historically literature such as *La Fayette* revealed the role of the journalist in the production of literature and by extension in politics. As early as 1821, John Nicholas Böhl de Faber was as horrified as his wife at the diffusion of philosophy and the liberal ideas emanating from Spain by way of an American imitation. That German Hispanist from Andalucía, father of writer Fernán Caballero, wrote to his

friend Julius that North America was an exemplary example of a world possible only when men sought to strive together to achieve great models⁶. The historical idea of America as a utopian construct was a major force in allegorical production in the nineteenth-century Hispanic political writings considered in the next chapter.

The Spanish literary critic Lloréns also commented on the parliamentary life under the Constitution of 1812 Spain as more similar to the North American system than the European one. He cited the fluidity of the early political groups that at the beginning were masons against moderates, but when the masons became the government, there was another schism. The *comuneros*, once decidedly republican became the true representatives of the *exaltado* position. There were no rigid party lines as we know them today. The Brotherhood of the Freemasons drew very different political types together. According to Lloréns, each representative at Cortes voted his own vote (75). While decidedly individualistic as Lloréns points out, their political oratory at the *Cortes* was an identifiable universal political discourse. The traces referred to earlier in Derrida's theory belong to that oral discourse that Mexía translated to written format by way of an artistic allegory.

Riego and La Fayette as Transnational Exile Texts and Their Space in United States Hispanic Literature

Who Were the Nineteenth-Century Hispanic Exiles? An overview of current theory on immigration, with special consideration of the exile condition in United States Hispanic literature, is necessary to place Félix Mexía by way of his literary production. Considering this question in its broadest sense will involve some background on suggested categorization of United States Hispanic works. Epplé cited the following defining moments of nineteenth-century Hispanic exile in the new world: the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and Spanish American War of 1898 (arrival of Cubans who fought for Cuban independence and

⁶ Quoted by Lloréns as Pitollet, *La querelle Calderónienne*, 17, but Lloréns gave no other information on this source.

beginning of Puerto Rican immigration from when it changed from Spanish colony to United States control) (335)

Another particular area, not cited by Epplé, is important in the present investigation to place *La Fayette* alongside other non-canonical Hispanic works as a transnational category. The categories described by Cortina in his classification of Cuban-American authors included in *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage* could be useful. Cortina suggested a "Neoclassic generation" from about 1800 to 1825, followed by a Romantic period through 1850 (70). While recognizing that Félix Mexía was a Spaniard exiled in Philadelphia and that the categorization Cortina used referred to Cuban-American authors, this researcher submits that this early drama reflects a protest literature, which connected both American and European realities in a universal romantic utopist genre.

While beyond the scope of this work, a consideration of the North American Renaissance from about 1820 to 1860, with the most important time being about mid-century for other Hispanic works, is an interesting possibility. Other non-canonical works such as the protest literature identified by Nicolás Kanellos, Rodolfo Cortina and others may provide an entirely new category if categorization is absolutely necessary. It bears mention here to keep in mind the date of the historical drama *La Fayette* (1825) as predating the play *El hermano generoso*, which Kanellos identified as being written in the 1840's under the name of Orman Tu-caes, a pseudonym due to the attack on Spanish government the work represented (*A History of Hispanic Theatre in the United States: Origins to 1940* 1990). Cortina wrote in the same anthology that drama "established a trend" of protest or politically committed literature (73).

In addition to the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Spanish American War of 1898, there are earlier dates that are relevant. These events also resulted in economic displacement and political strife, although their impact was not as major as Epplé's defining moments. There was an earlier Spanish exile situation in the United States after the intervention of Napoleon Bonaparte in European politics. David Nicholls referred to that time period as the "Age of Revolutions" (xii). Napoleon took revolution from France to all of the monarchies of Europe as well

as to the Constitutional Monarchy of Great Britain. Similar to the illusion referred to in the last chapter of this study, Napoleon exposed the delusion of absolute power by challenging the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the tsar of Russia (xii). The exile and return of Ferdinand VII to Spain and his abolition of the Liberal Constitution also played an interesting role in the drama of exile. The Monroe Doctrine in 1823 and the ensuing results of the doctrine of Manifest Destiny were also extremely important. The creation of the United Provinces of Central America from 1824 to 38 was another nation-building time period of great interest.

It bears mentioning here that any broad treatment of the very special heterogeneous situation of the American Southwest should be approached with much caution. Charles Tatum commented on Luis Leal's chronology in that area which includes other significant dates, such as "1803, the Louisiana Purchase; 1819, the year Spain sold Florida to the United States; and 1836, the year Texas declared its independence..." (206). His main concern, along with Rosaura Sánchez and others, is the reestablishing of a canon that focuses on white males to the exclusion of the working class, women, and rural populations (206).

These are very real problems with difficult decisions involved, but if the United States Hispanic literary heritage is to be just what its name implies, then works written in the United States by nativists, immigrants or exiles of any class, gender, status, nationality or population should be considered. Approached openly, the new canon will reflect the transnational state of many writers, and reflect a variety that will aid in defining the category and value of particular works. This is not to say that the oral traditions exemplified in Mexican folklore and *corridos*, for example, should not be given precedence in defining Chicano and other Hispanic literature because of exclusion from the earlier canon. Additions to the superstructure might be better than creating another ethnic and cultural superstructure.

The importance of early colonial works, both Spanish and indigenous, is undeniable. Leal, as well as Tatum and Epple, has postulated a Chicano literary history in his article, "Pre-Chicano Literature: Process and Meaning" (1539-

1959). They propose to claim rightfully what belongs to their history in the same way the *History of Virginia* by John Smith belongs to the already canonized colonial United States' works. Although this work was written before 1776, it does not belong to England, but rather to the United States colonies of that time. With the tremendous amount of research and reconsideration of Hispanic colonial letters in recent years, Chicano literature may boast of the first drama and epic poem in Spanish or in English for that matter, since they predate the above-mentioned *History of Virginia*.

Among native Southwesterners in the United States, there were those who prided themselves on their relationship to Spain. That attitude was reflected in the early efforts of folklorists like Arthur L. Campa, editor of *Spanish Folk Poetry in New Mexico* in 1946, and Aurelio Espinosa who wrote "Romancero nuevomejicano" for the *Revue Hispanique* in 1915. Perhaps one of the earliest examples of this type of folkloric remembrance of the past documented by Leal in epics and chronicles is the theatre produced during the colonial period 1542-1810 in the area to the north of New Spain now El Paso, Texas ("Pre-Chicano" 63). A certain Captain Marcos Farfán de los Godos, who formed part of the expedition led by Juan de Oñate in 1598, wrote the first play presented in Texas, possibly the first in the United States according to Leal and others ("Pre-Chicano" 66). José B. Fernández documented that play as *Los moros y cristianos* in *Literary Folklore of the Hispanic Southwest* edited by Aurora Lucero White-Lea (258).

The Oñate expedition produced what is probably the first epic poem in the United States, *Historia de la Nueva Mexico*. Printed in Spain in 1610, that poem contains some 12,000 hendecasyllable lines describing Oñate's entry into New Mexico from Mexico City in 1596. It finishes with the fall of Acoma to the Spaniards in 1599. As Fernández noted, the Museo Nacional de México published a facsimile reprint of the original 1900 manuscript found in Mexico City (262). The importance of early folklorists' contributions to Pre-Chicano letters is undeniable in the works of a variety of authors including Aurelio M. Espinosa, Arthur L. Campa, and Américo Paredes as the index to the *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art* clearly attests. There was an inherent

desire to return to a native Atzlán past reflected in the literature. Three hundred years of history became providentialized and sincretized. Spaniards, Mexicans, and North Americans both indigenous and intruder became one.

The literature that followed in the early nineteenth century was one of conflict reflected in the Spanish language journals and newspapers of those days. It was a liberal period and in that aspect Philadelphia was similar to the Cuban and Mexican-American centers. From 1810 to 1848, when Mexía was publishing in Philadelphia, the political spectrum in the Southwest was one of conflict. The importance of the early Hispanic press is undeniable all over the United States.

While the actual chronicles produced by the Spanish explorers decreased, the thread of oral literature reflected in the early writings of the explorers continued in this territorial period in other forms. Besides publishing sermons and news, the newspapers, which according to Nicolás Kanellos can be classified as exile, immigrant or nativist, tried to protect civil rights and publish creative literature as well as news. The press became probably the most important institution in furthering literacy since there was a newspaper in almost every small town as well as the big cities. As early as 1808, there was the newspaper *El Misisipi* in New Orleans. In 1813, the Cuban firebrand José Alvarez de Toledo took the first press to Texas. The same year the *Gaceta de Texas* appeared and *El crepúsculo de la libertad* followed in New Mexico in 1834. (Chabrán and Chabrán 364; Kanellos 363; Leal 70) The year 1836 takes on special importance since the Mexicans living in Texas had to decide to return to Mexico or become part of other North American cultures.

Around the same time, exiles came to Philadelphia and New York to learn more about our system of government and write under the auspices of freedom of speech. Since the United States was the first democratic republic it was common for exiles to come here to learn ideology and the mechanics of a democratic system. They took advantage of the free press to publish in Spanish. Cubans published some of the most important works of the nineteenth century in Philadelphia and New York, as well as in Europe. Father Félix Varela himself

published many other philosophical and literary works.⁷ The same is true in Puerto Rican literature; two examples are the works of Lola Rodríguez de Tío and Sotero Figueroa (Aparicio 22).

In what Leal referred to as “territorial literature (1848-1912)” we find *memorias* like those collected by the historian Hubert Howe Bancroft from early *Californio* women as testimonials to domestic life of that era (“Pre-Chicano” 70). One such compilation, not included in Leal’s article, is the captive narrative of Doña Juana Machado de Ridington, a story similar to that of Juan Parker in Texas. The format involved a complex set of relations based on nostalgia, history, and literature. Thomas Savage recorded his notes in 1878, some twenty years after the actual experiences of that sixty-four-year-old woman; the reflection of history subjectively told reveals the interdependence and conflicts among Indian, Mexican, Spanish, and Gringo civilizations. Autobiographies by people like Leonor Villegas de Magnón, *La rebelde*, the rebel who like Doña Ridington was an aristocrat, reveal the input of early territorial women. Clara Lomas who wrote the introduction and produced the annotated edition of *La rebelde* made note of the lack of written documents such as this that challenge stereotypes of both sides of the border. The rebel played an important role in the Mexican Revolution by her criticism of Porfirio Díaz. Her romantic third person autobiography told her story intertwined with that of the history of *La Cruz Blanca*.

Other works published during those years included such varied works as the *Narración histórica*, also dictated to Savage in 1877 by the last governor of Mexican California, Pío Pico. Leal characterized that work as “so full of personal adventures and political intrigues” as to be a picaresque novel. At the other end of the social scale was the famous serial novel *The Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta, the Celebrated California Bandit*, published in San Francisco in 1854 by “Yellow Bird,” the nom de plume for John Rollin Ridge, a newspaperman of Cherokee background. The Spanish language translation appeared the same year in *La Gaceta*, a Santa Barbara newspaper (Leal, “Pre-Chicano” 73).

⁷ For a chronological list of Varela’s most well known works and a brief selection of various studies about his work see *Jicoténcal* xiii.

While there are several interesting possibilities for the division of Hispanic literary emigrants/immigrants during the periods cited above, the major concern here is with the very early nineteenth century. Beyond this historical dating, there are several characteristics that tend to separate literary works into one of three categories as suggested by Rodolfo Cortina, Nicolas Kanellos and others involved in the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project. These three types of literary presence are defined as nativist, immigrant and exile. Such categories more accurately reflect the complex issues involved in considering United States Hispanic literary production while still searching for unifying themes. Previous suggestions to divide literary production of specific ethnic groups often weighed only two types of literary production, such as that produced by those born here and those who emigrated.

Within the three types of literary presence, one must integrate the works of a variety of authors either born in the United States or who are immigrants or exiles. The majority of works will fall neatly into one of three main ethnic groups: Chicano (including Pre-Chicano, or Mexican American), Puerto Rican American, and Cuban American. Nevertheless, there are a number of other Hispanic ethnic groups who also took part in forming the Hispanic literary heritage in the United States. These included Peninsular Spaniards and Hispanic Americans from a broad Mesoamerican geography.

There are a number of authors that Cortina has termed "transnational" within the last two categories of immigrants and exiles. He referred to those who produced works in the United States even while they had a place in other national literatures, such as that of Mexico, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Spain, or Central or South American countries. What follows is an extremely condensed overview of this difficult situation in United States Hispanic literature.

Within the historical framework cited above, the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project in Houston generally considers exile works to display a number of characteristics. A concern or protest of politics in the home country often resulting in a national revolutionary stance is usually present, as well as a desire to return to that place from which they were exiled. There is

nostalgia for a paradise lost, and a kind of deception often resulting from the realization they could not return. Sometimes that nostalgia resulted in a roving, wandering or nomadic spirit, which did not allow for repatriation. Among that group there was a general literary elitism with emphasis on written as opposed to oral language resulting in more linguistic purity. There was also a definite conservative bias to maintaining national culture even to the point of not acknowledging cultural changes and for the use of tragic or classical heroes in their works.

These traits sometimes overlap in the nativist and immigrant categories, but, more often than not, exile works display a definite contrast to literature in those categories. Still, it must be taken into consideration that the traits listed above are part of a dynamic reality that allowed for those exiles and their families to become immigrants when they did not return to their country of origin, and for their children to become natives. The transformations that occurred in the second generation have been well documented, that is to say the sons and daughters of those charged with “defining ... a national identity in an alien space” (Epple 334). While the first generation was defending an identity still dependent on their home country, the second had sent down roots.

Also, those natives have constantly been influenced by different historical waves of immigration or new exile situations. This is why a historical approach, which still questions the development of this literature is going on with the Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project as a guide to areas uncovered and yet to be found.

Eliana Rivero originally proposed a division of literary production into two groups: native-born United States authors and immigrants. Rivero notes that the case of Cuban authors is distinct from the “marginalized ideological idiosyncrasy, consciously minority and Third World of the immense majority of Chicano and Puerto Rican writers...” (qtd. in Epple, “Hispanic Exile in the United States” 336). The Chicano reflects this discourse in the call for resistance to assimilation. The importance of nostalgia for this group is undeniable.

The case of Mexican-Americans or Chicanos is singular in United States history because they became exiles on their own land due to annexation. This produced a type of interior exile, not the result of immigration; nevertheless, it is similar to experiences of others that have been dispossessed. While this study does not deal with that area of United States Hispanic literature, thoughts on their hybrid background are just as profuse as those ideas regarding the exile situation in general. As the various critics cited in the bibliography attest, the treatment of the Hispanic exile situation has been analyzed from various viewpoints.

The preceding, very schematic, chronological overview of United States Hispanic works was necessary in order to locate the works of the Spaniard *Mexía* in relation to the other major centers of production. The direct concern of this study is United States Hispanic identity in exile as it relates to the literary work by Félix *Mexía*. For that reason these political allegories must be considered in context with other New World propagandist works published in early nineteenth-century Philadelphia. The political discourse of exiles such as the Cuban priest Father Félix Varela and others mentioned in the next chapter demonstrate a similar use of signs from a romantic revolutionary lexicon often times based on Freemason discourse, the political oratory of the Cortes in Spain and New Spain, and the liberal written press. Also, the daily accounts of political interaction at the Spanish Cortes were important news items for Spanish citizens in all of Spain's dominions and in exile. *Mexía* drew his authority to allegorize from his continuing identification with his current exile situation and his relationship to constitutional laws still contested in Spain. The despotic edicts that shut down the patriotic societies in Spain, disbanded the militia and forced Riego to prison and death caused an allegorical death that allowed the author *Mexía* to resurrect himself in his own drama to editorialize. Remembrances of a politically chaotic, painfully real past are exposed in the political allegory *Riego* provoked by a need to inform the world about his hero Riego's betrayal by Ferdinand VII. That real past conflicted with his romantic desire to refigure all of his heroes, as well the political situation of his own society back home even while exiled with other Hispanics in the United States.

This researcher recognizes it is vital to consider the contributions of each of the three major Hispanic ethnic sectors in the United States: Chicano, Puerto Rican and Cuban, when discussing the ethnic space occupied by Hispanic exiles in the United States. Still, it is crucial to remember that in the 1820's all Hispanics or Latinos were Spanish citizens, willingly or not, if they lived in the Spanish colonial empire. Rivero noted the tendency among immigrants to relive the political history that resulted in their exile. Juan Armando Epple took this one step farther describing a "dialectics of exile" ("Hispanic Exile in the United States" 336). In the case of Mexía, his dialectics were concerns with a political, literary, and historical space still connected to Spain under the Bourbon King Ferdinand VII. As Mexía strove to tell the world of Spain's political ills, he could not bear the thought that all of his efforts on behalf of the repeal of tyrannical laws had been in vain. He created a symbolic space in his new world peopled with the historical characters that could make a difference. Then he climbed into that space to comment nostalgically on what might have been and what he hoped for the future. The indeterminate state of these literary exile texts requires consideration of their physical location. That subject addresses the historical publication space occupied by Mexía's exile dramas.

Chapter 2

Establishing Exile Identity Status for *Riego* and *La Fayette*

The archaeological pursuit for meaning in Mexía's two dramas necessitated a trip to the Philadelphia of the 1820s. The search through Mexía's primary sources, published there, explained Mexía's literary linguistic use of public political discourse in his own private allegory in *Riego* and *La Fayette*. The details provided by the *Carta* and the *Encíclica* supported the historical background of the Spanish tragedy *Riego* to explain Mexía's literary employment of a common political device involving the same artistic use of allegory both in *Riego* and *La Fayette*. DeWitt Clinton's address on freemasonry, found attached to the *Encíclica*, not only led to the source of that speech, but also located a similar use of Mexía's inventive allegory in the United States nineteenth-century political sphere. The New York political campaign of DeWitt Clinton, who sought to establish a similar close familial relationship with the founding fathers, employed the same metaphorically symbolic words and gestures of Mexía's political allegory.

It was in Philadelphia that Mexía published his own *Encíclica* against the Pope's encyclical and the long *Carta* attributed to his coeditor, but published in his name. Since this study focuses on two of Mexía's dramas, as transnational exile texts in a universal romantic writing style, a look at the Philadelphia publishing environment of the 1820s through the works of Hispanics who published around the same time is valuable.

The different layers of meaning of Mexía's two dramas found inspiration in journalistic style texts from his past, including *El Zurriago*, other theoretical and historical/literary works he published, the *Carta* and the *Encíclica*, and

political essays by New World Hispanics that employed ideologically complicit discourse. Capturing Mexía's political allegory through his written discourse requires a look at oratory, not as speech, but as *belles lettres*, a part of the official military/revolutionary written rhetoric. The theatrical symbolic Freemason ritual employed in nineteenth-century political writing involved the allegorical portrayal of the military/revolutionary hero as virtuous, patriotic elite.

Mexía published *Riego* in 1825 and *La Fayette* in 1826. The *Carta* came out in 1825 and his *Enciclica* against the Pope's encyclical appeared in 1826. In order to apply the identity in exile and Romantic literary theory to the two dramatic works, it was crucial to identify the basis of his romantic discourse. The major determining factor in his exile condition was his political and literary past, as is usually the case with those who suffer banishment for their political ideology. Historical information is intercalated with the works cited in this chapter in order to locate Mexía's dramatic works in their stratified political moments.

Riego and *La Fayette* reflect a more universal discourse than just a reflection of his own personal political past. The related political allegory in that theatre found significance in Mexican political current events in *Riego* and the United States in *La Fayette* at the time of their writing. As a newspaperman, Mexía would not have ignored those happenings. Galdós proved Mexía's importance as a chronicler of current events by using his newspaper *El Zurriago* as the main resource for his historic realist humanitarian approach to the events of the Triennium in *El terror de 1824* of the *Episodios nacionales*.

This chapter begins with European history and the importance of the Brotherhood of Freemasons as an identifiable international group committed to the words of freedom. The oratorical style of the nineteenth-century representatives to the *Cortes* in Spain, the journalistic writing tone of Hispanic revolutionaries and the transition of that spoken liberal rhetoric to written words defined the political discourse that compelled Mexía to allegorize even in his New World setting.

The dramatic use of freemasonry ritual and symbols was common in nineteenth-century radical propaganda both in Europe and in the New World and was a molding force in the two dramas under investigation.. The *Carta* provided the historical backdrop for the past Mexía left behind. It is Mexía's constitutional past that structures the political allegory allowing the fictional dramatic character narrators to speak to constitutional moments in Mexico and the United States. The political situation of the Spanish Triennium, the three years prior to Mexía's exile in 1823, reflected the importance of the Spanish Constitution of 1812 and explained his allegoric depiction of that document as a faithful wife/mother dramatically reflective of an ideal of domestic/political felicity. Reviewing public discourse, both oral and written, allows understanding of Mexía's political allegory in dramatic space and time.

Other historical sources corroborate the scene set by the one hundred forty-two pages of the *Carta*. Besides Mexía's own written production including material from *El Zurriago*, his newspaper published in Spain, this chapter looks at political essays by Carlos Le Brun, a Pennsylvania government translator; Vicente Rocafuerte, nineteenth-century Ecuadorian President; José Alvarez de Toledo, a Cuban independence fighter who brought the first printing press to Texas; and the nineteenth-century Venezuelan Secretary of State Juan Germán Roscio. Those essays highlight the main points of Félix Mexía's *Encíclica* answering the call by nineteenth-century Mexican newspapers to respond to the 1824 encyclical by the Pope. Mexía described the Pope's abuse of power on a threefold thesis. First, he said the Pope had spiritual authority, but was abusing his political power. Second, the Pope's authority was only the same as that of all his bishops. His final point recognized as natural and divine the privilege of nations to set up their own governments. Those three points lead back to the same thesis in all of Mexía's written work--the need for written laws to take care of the nation's family.

"The City of Brotherhood"

Philadelphia was a most appropriate place for the gathering of the above-cited Hispanic liberals in the early nineteenth century. Philadelphia, named after the Greek city of the same name, reflected much of the United States history. The

role of Philadelphia in the United States revolution was well known, and the moniker “City of the Firsts” well deserved. The first American Constitutional Congress and the Declaration of Independence were only a few of the firsts. The city was first in commerce until the War of 1812. By 1800, its population was some forty thousand people in an important industrial center. William Penn introduced the first printing press and the public library in colonial days. Of the two thousand books in this first library established by William Penn and James Logan, there were many concerning the Spanish encounter with South American culture. In addition to Benjamin Franklin’s early printing activities, including some thirty-seven newspapers, Philadelphia had, by 1824, fifty-five editorial houses and one hundred twelve printing presses. María Luisa Colón cited, in her library science thesis, the existence of these numerous centers of writing activity (6). Colón’s bibliography includes Spanish language books, newspapers, and pamphlets published in Philadelphia from 1800 to 1835.⁸

As the first democratic republic, the United States was a logical meeting place for those involved in the negotiations for national projects of independence. The free press was a special draw to Hispanic exiles. Searching for the utopia of a free press, those Hispanic exiles came from many different places. Colón described the main themes of works written in Spanish published in Philadelphia from 1800 to 1835. She described general literature including many translations of European canonical literary works; language instruction; religious and scientific works; personal diatribes or apologies for specific actions; historical works including travel books with commentaries; and miscellaneous entries. Freemason treatises fell into a miscellaneous category, as well as law, philosophy, sermons, elegies, and letters (7-9). Colón pointed out the great majority of those works was New World rabbleroising propaganda.

Those American refugees had one common goal: to see their countries free. They saw in the young United States a model for the newly forming republics in the Americas. While there was much vitriol directed towards a

⁸ Available at the Library of Congress, Univ. of PA and the Hispanic Society of NY, and a copy from Harvard College Library is now available at the UH Recovery Project.

decadent Spain, in general, by Spaniards from the peninsula as well as their liberal counterparts in the Americas, the most specific attacks were against the corrupt Godoy. From 1800 to 1835, writers criticized the immorality of the court and a cruel Ferdinand VII who was taking Spain to ruin along with its colonial governments in this hemisphere (10). Spanish politics influenced the political, social, and economic life of those Hispanics living on this side of the Atlantic as well.

Spanish Exiles in the New World

As mentioned earlier, critics such as Vicente Lloréns Castillo acknowledged that the vast majority of the Spanish political emigration during the reign of Ferdinand VII, which began in 1823 and grew until the amnesty of 1832 and 34, was to England and France. There were some though who ended up in the United States and other parts of the Americas. While some were denied political exile in Latin America even though they had been born there, others were not only admitted, but came to occupy important political positions (Lloréns 18). Despite their alienation through emigration, exile, or censorship, those in Spain and New Spain were Spanish citizens at this point. Lloréns highlighted the case of Don Facundo Infante, who took part in the military uprising of 1820, later served as a representative to the *Cortes*, and finally returned to Spain to become an influential newspaperman in Madrid. His importance in South American politics was considerable, first, as Secretary and then Minister of the Interior to Sucre in Bolivia. Others better known in the literary world migrated from Spain by way of London. Such was the case of José Joaquín de Mora who went to Argentina, then appeared in Chile, where he helped to draft the Constitution of 1828, and afterwards went from Peru to Bolivia (Lloréns 19).

Lloréns described the strong impression the Industrial Revolution's progress and the British mercantile tradition had on exiles, such as José de Espronceda, who spent his exile in London. Exiled liberals in London had also fought for commercial liberty during the chaotic Triennium. Even General Riego's *Manifiesto* in Spain had included a call for removal of obstacles to Spain's industrial modernization and free trade. According to Lloréns, the

industrious nature of British citizens, their knowledge of useful ideas, inventions, and practical things impressed the London exiles. The *ocistas* were living a moment of pure optimism in the power of the middle class, with its new steam engine, the gas lamp, lithography etc., as well as certain political liberties, to bring happiness to the entire human race. Lloréns compared the optimism of one of his contemporaries a century later. Luis Cernuda felt only contempt for the British materialistic pursuit of utilitarianism. He chose to remember instead the leisurely lifestyle and beauty of the country he had left behind (Lloréns 65). This dichotomy of longing for a Spain of another time, even while desiring modernization, was inherent in the Spanish exile condition of exiles like Mexía in the early nineteenth century.

Since Spain had endured three kings in 1808 alone, Carlos IV, Ferdinand VII, and José I, as well as the powerful Godoy, there was plenty of political fodder. All four of those men had spent time in exile. Prince José Bonaparte, Napoleon's older brother, led the Paris government during the Waterloo campaign. After widespread uprisings in Spain against the French invasion, before the coronation of Joseph Bonaparte in Madrid in 1809, many Spaniards went into exile, such as José Blanco White. José Bonaparte later purchased an American brig and after Napoleon Bonaparte's defeat and, his second abdication, José proposed exile in America for Napoleon after Napoleon's defeat and retreat in 1813. In 1814, Catholic Spain revived the Inquisition. Meanwhile, Napoleon, refusing to live the life of a common fugitive, decided to go to St. Helena. José chose to use the title, Count of Survilliers, as an alias to escape the British navy and arrive in New York City in August 1815. Before that date in 1811, the British parliament made slave trading a felony, while Spain's revolutionary *Cortes* was still debating abolition with many Cuban objections. By 1820, with the British parliament dissolved, Palermo and Portugal in revolt, and Naples a Republic, there were revolts in both Spain and Italy against the Bourbons. The above events are all part of a basic European Romantic chronology helpful to place the mutiny by troops in Madrid, who refused to go to South America to oppose revolutions. This mutiny is part of the historical background for *Riego*. Now, that we have

seen where the European political nobility chose to hide from European turmoil at different moments, we can return to the politically compromised romantic expression of liberal exiles in old and New Spain. That consideration brings us closer to the relationship of Mexía's political allegorical genre to general Hispanic liberal discourse on both sides of the Atlantic.

Political Allegory in Freemason Theatrical Ritual and Symbolic Expression

Searching for intertextuality for *Riego* and *La Fayette* involved a cursory survey of Hispanic works produced in the United States and an incursion into the theatrical ritual and symbolic expression of Freemason discourse. A private sentimental discourse present in *Riego* and *La Fayette* resembles public Masonic political discourse, which had a dominant historical impact in the production of these two dramas, and the works of other exiles. Delving into these works provided an understanding of the history and background of the Masonic political schism during the Spanish Triennium. A thorough history of the Freemasons would be an engaging endeavor, but there are several to consult for more background on this philanthropic institution.⁹ The following encyclopedic overview of masonry elements, in conjunction with background from Humberto Eco, is necessary in considering the connection of old world politics to new in the establishment of this country and the Latin American republics. Also, in order to understand the placement of Clinton's speech on freemasonry, attached to Mexía's *Encíclica*, the notion of gaining authority by identification with a particular group is crucial. European radicals as well as New World patriots used similar signs and symbols in oratory as well as rhetoric. Clinton's speech reflected the same notion of gaining authority from political association as the attached *Encíclica* and the political allegory in *Riego* and *La Fayette*. Hispanic concern with and involvement in United States politics is apparent by the concurrent translation of Clinton's speech from English to Spanish.

Eco's comments about the plausibility of freemasonry history are enlightening to the connection between political discourse and history.

⁹ This site divides Masonic history into three main periods.
<http://www.ccsf.caltech.edu/%7Erfire/masonry/history.html>

Explanatory tales simplify the difficult to comprehend, and they offer more credibility than a more complicated, but less comprehensible historical perspective. Is it really possible that any one story can provide us with the one true history of the Freemasons? The corollary to this question is: Is it really possible that any one story can sort out the historical facts of Morales' death and Mexía's exile? Since this study presents literary critical readings that represent the story of *Riego* and *La Fayette*, the historical background of the breakup of the liberal factions involving patriotic societies and Freemason lodges in the Triennium is pertinent. The characterization of one of the two major nineteenth-century Spanish literary chroniclers, Antonio Alcalá Galiano, in *Riego* required this background.

The analogical reasoning behind pursuing the story of this movement is simply to document certain oratorical and rhetorical elements. Theatrical ritual and symbolic expression were common elements in nineteenth-century radical propaganda both in Europe and in the New World. The dramatic use of freemason symbols and words provided an identifiable base for Mexía's exile identity. The basis for uncovering the hidden allegory in Mexía's dramatic exile works lay in his identification with the written liberal discourse, founded on classical rhetoric, which provided melodramatic freemasonry terminology. Mexía donned the political orator's mask employed by freemasons of varying degrees of liberalism. Ironically enough that rhetoric was the basis for the political discourse of many of those Mexía satirized in *El Zurriago*. Following is background, as condensed as possible, regarding the formation of freemasonry.

Legend or faith has it that there were pagan and Hebrew fraternal societies. The pagans followed the Eleusinian Mysteries, while the Pharisees were also members of a select group. Pharisees used the term *chaver*, similar to brother, comrade or *compañero*, comparable to present day usage in freemasonry. Members swore to the Commandments and the Law in the presence of three members.

Many Christians use the term *Pharisee* as a description of a person, taking on the meaning of hypocritical; no such historical meaning exists. In fact, Saint

Paul was a Pharisee who strictly followed the laws of Moses. Pharisaic structure was involved in historical Judaism since they were the group that allowed the continuance of the religion despite the final destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem. Historians believe some part of this pharisaic structure formed the original masonry foundation.

“Although some Masonic brothers may take the ritual to be historical truth, there are no true Masonic authorities who give any credence to an actual organization of Masons in ancient times” (Firestone 1). Nonetheless, the symbolic cultural value of freemasonry suggests an element of patriotic discourse that could lead to a political project. My own use of the word *patriotic* in the previous sentence is similar to the notion of symbolic value. When is discourse patriotic? It would seem in the case of the Hispanic liberal discourse considered here that political sermons, allegorical or not, were patriotic only when identified with change.

Change is a major issue of liberal Hispanic identity in exile and on that issue the liberals reflected the dissension apparent at the *Cortes* in Spain and New Spain. While Peninsular Spaniards were looking for modification of their existing system of government, Hispanic Americans turned away from the European definition of liberty, in their romantic quest for change, to a different national identity for the New World patriots. The one constant during the early period of revolutionary movements everywhere remained modification. Even the word *movement* itself implied the transformation of one order into another. History would be the sole judge for better or worse.

The freethinkers of the world, both elite and working class, could relate to the symbolic use of philosophy as expounded by the Freemasons. The specifics of DeWitt Clinton's political campaign provide a basis for understanding how that communal liberal discourse translated on the United States political scene in *La Fayette*. Clinton actually followed the same allegorical strategy apparent in *La Fayette*. Clinton staged himself to glory in the heroic reception afforded La Fayette as a European founding father/patriot son returning to his happy family of citizens. Custis, Mexía's romantic heroic persona in *La Fayette*, does the same.

Custis constantly contrasts United States current events related to the arrival of La Fayette back to the tragic European situation reflected in *Riego*. The universal sentimental romantic discourse used by Freemasons provided the language for the political story Clinton told of La Fayette's visit.

It is judicial regarding the importance of freemasonry to include more thoughts from the respected professor of semiotics at the University of Bologna, Umberto Eco. He followed the historical path of the Rosicrucian story, the source of much European anti-Semitism, to symbolic, then operative masonry in the nineteenth century. As Eco told the story, the invention of the Cofraternity of the Rosy Cross began as an "erudite game, then a literary exercise that could be ascribed to the utopist genre" (17). The term *the red cross* developed from the principles, practices, and institutions of a secret brotherhood in past centuries to mean what we now know as an instinctive sympathy for others. Implicit in the notion of belonging to that group was the call to action. Revolutionaries everywhere took up arms in the cause of justified resistance to injustice. One of Félix Mexía's early translations was of a drama called *La Cruz roja o los pienegros de Irlanda* (*The Red Cross or the Blackfeet of Ireland*), although no copy of that drama has been recovered as of this writing.¹⁰ Although acknowledging it is pure speculation without the original drama, it is not farfetched to imagine some connection to the Red Cross of Constantine included in Masonic research. Lloréns also vaguely alludes to an uprising of the Irish, in which Benigno Morales, Mexía's coeditor was involved (74).

Eco's history of masonry establishes the mythical founding of this fraternity. He tells how the first and second manifestos appeared with a call for society to be rich enough to satisfy kings while it educated them. They also held for secrecy and anonymity among its members. Since there were no "historical proofs" that Rosicrucians ever existed, Eco said then, by definition, they are historically nonexistent (10-11). The comparison to religious ritual is obvious as

¹⁰ The citation is from Calcagno, Francisco. *Diccionario biográfico cubano* (New York, 1878) 412, available at the UH Recovery Project.

many religions require a tenet of faith with original texts and documents secretly sealed in some archive. The folklore of a brotherhood with anagram names, invisible appearances, and no logic to prove they do exist produced some historically paradoxical results. Eco calls “symbolic masonry” a transformation of “operative masonry composed of the unnamed English artisans who built the cathedrals in the eighteenth century” (13).

The Freemasons originally used the Rosicrucian occult myth of origins against king and church. In a strange turn of events at the beginning of the nineteenth century, along with the Templar myth, that myth of origins defended that same “throne and altar” to “combat the spirit of the Enlightenment” (12-13). Those historical developments came about long before the actual French Revolution according to Eco. David Nicholls provided some interesting statistics on Masonic lodges harassed into hiding during the most violent stage of the French Revolution, but resuming under the Directory (104). He cited some one hundred and thirty-two lodges in the French army alone with one quarter of the infantry officers included in 1805. Called the Grand Orient in France, that organization became a sect of faith to a very powerful god: Napoleon Bonaparte (105). This information is helpful in understanding the later formation of the divisive political factions during the Spanish Triennium from 1820 to 1823.

Aristocratic leaders, including Napoleon’s own brothers, ministers, prefects, administrators, and generals, made up this branch of masonry that “in 1814 had 886 lodges and 337 chapters in France (105)”. Under Napoleon, that particular branch of the Masons became ideologically “deist and rationalist,” an idea supported by the historian Nicholls. Freemasonry spread to the rest of Europe by Napoleon’s conquering armies. Nicholls cites some four hundred chapters established by army officers alone. Napoleon felt that the ruling European elites would follow this rational religion; he found incredible support in Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. Nicholls again provided figures for some seventeen lodges with three hundred forty-five locals and one hundred seventy French organizations in the Rhineland.

So powerful was the godlike Napoleon that his “N” crest alienated potential Mason supporters in Holland and the Duchy of Warsaw where, Nicholls said, people saw symbolic identity between that “N” and freemasonry. The Catholic clergy adamantly opposed the freemasons in those places. This same historian went so far as to say French freemasonry “failed totally in Spain and Portugal where local elites refused completely to join lodges dominated by French officers” (105). Despite this statement by Nicholls, Bergamini maintained that Ferdinand VII’s brother, Francisco de Paula, became a Freemason in 1825 and later was the top Masonic official in Spain. That action was a great risk since Ferdinand VII’s other brother Carlos had insisted that Fernando maintain the law that called for the death penalty for such membership (Bergamini 184).

One third of the signers of the United States Declaration of Independence and those who attended the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia were Masons. The preservation of Masonic property and lives during the United States Revolutionary War is also legendary (4). In fact, the Masons have existed in many different forms, in many different places, in the same manner as have the major religions of the world. The propensity of all human organizations to have good and bad extremes is nowhere more prevalent than in the political arena. There is an authority of identity involved in belonging to a brotherhood committed to the welfare of all. The direct relationship to Mexía’s exile dramatic works lies in viewing nineteenth-century patriots as hero fathers/brothers who cared for their citizen children. Paradoxically, the patriarchal neoclassic notion of the “founding fathers/brothers” present in Mexía’s dedications in both works contrasts with his allegorical representation of a wife/mother constitution.

Heroic military figures stand out in a political family or brotherhood, while often times the wife/mother role is a silent, more protective one. Returning to the particular time period in question for the dramas studied in the last chapters, there is one more tale to consider. “The Conspiracy of the Triangle” cited by the historian Bergamini, was a plot supposedly by the Freemasons to assassinate Ferdinand VII (168). The divisive situation among the Freemasons at that time makes it difficult to determine which Freemason groups participated in the

assassination plot, forcing the following question. Which Freemasons? Bergamini's "Conspiracy of the Triangle" also illustrates the extent to which Freemasons found Ferdinand VII's abuses intolerable. Bergamini relates the story of a Freemason prisoner who offered to reveal the group's secrets, but when brought in front of Ferdinand VII, he instead used the opportunity to harangue him and insist he join the brotherhood (169). Is this fact or myth? This displays either the strength of someone's convictions or one more example of the efficacy of the legend.

It was a desire to be a part of that same heroic romantic legend that drove Mexía to allegorize. The irony is he was driven out of Spain by a Freemason government. He refigured his own heroes as New World patriots, which allowed him to tap into the romantic vision of perfect government. To express those views, Mexía created a dramatic narrator that was himself and allegorical representations of his political issues. The most romantic of these allegorical figures is his female protective constitution.

Historical Background from the *Carta*

Freemason Groups During the Spanish Triennium

As regards the situation of Benigno Morales and Félix Mexía while still editors of *El Zurriago*, Seoane writes about the *moderado* (moderate) and *exaltado* (ultra-radical) positions taken by different Freemasons (142). The *Carta* cited the *Grande Oriente Español Regular* (Grand Orient Spanish Regulars) that Morales said worked against the good offices of Masonry (52). Morales accused those within this segment of the fraternal organization with the false statements that put him and Mexía in jail. The three years from 1820 to 1823 in Spain were politically chaotic to say the least. Seoane cited the worsening situation in 1821 when subgroups formed not only within the Masons, but also with the creation of the secret societies of the *Comuneros* (the common people) and the *Hijos de Padilla* (Sons of Padilla). Both of those groups adopted a militant stance against Masonry according to her, despite the fact the Freemason organization in reality played such an important role in the revolution. Both Morales and Mexía identified themselves as *comuneros* (*El Zurriago* 26:1). This brings up an

interesting linguistic use of signs on the part of Mexía who expressed himself in the discourse of a political organization he opposed. Seoane referred to the *Comuneros* organization as the extreme left of the *exaltados*. She also called *El Zurriago* their equivalent in print (159).

The *Carta* served as a compendium of information about the particular situation of Benigno Morales, as well as Félix Mexía who published the document. If read as merely words on paper, the words of the *Carta* would lose the powerful oratory present behind those historic events. Those who wrote the short-lived *exaltado* newspapers of the Triennium were able to preserve the *traces* of oratory and ideology of the allegorical satirists who spoke at *Cortes* and in the patriotic societies. A number of sources confirmed Morales' death at a young age in front of a firing squad in 1824. Seoane cites his age in 1814 as nineteen, which would have made him only twenty-nine years old in 1823 when they executed Riego.¹¹ Compare the fate of that young man Morales to an anecdote about Espronceda. At age fifteen, that Romantic poet organized a secret patriotic society among his friends committed to avenge Riego's death (del Río 123).¹² Benigno Morales had surely seen Riego beg for his life the same as Espronceda. Lloréns described the activities of the adolescents with Espronceda as: "unas cuantas ceremonias tenebrosas, que se celebraban en los sótanos de una bodega de la calle de Hortaleza, entre emblemas macabros y faroles rojos" ("a few gloomy ceremonies, they celebrated in the basement of an apothecary shop on Produce Row, among macabre emblems and red lanterns") (32). Calomarde, then chief of police, sentenced him and his friends to five years. They only served several weeks in a convent in Guadalajara (124).

In the *Carta*, we find historical background for Mexía's work in exile. The inclusion of the *Carta* is not meant to suggest that it enjoy literary status, but to

¹¹ Speculations on Benigno Morales's age at his death include Lloréns 74; Mexía *Carta* 4; Seoane 143.

¹² Lloréns quotes Morales's age as 18, already having written an epic poem. He gives the name of the society as *Los Numantinos* (32).

include it as a poetic source along with newspaper chronicles, setting the stage for the open readings of *Riego* and *La Fayette*. Mexía published this letter in 1825, in Philadelphia, as a political statement to incite a public outcry against the tyrant Ferdinand VII. Mexía claimed to have published the letter, exactly as he received it from Morales, who was said to have written the same in prison before his death.¹³ *La Fayette* appeared to deny any previous literary classification because of the hidden allegory. The epistolary document serves as simply another poetic source, along with *El Zurriago*, and the historical tragedy *Riego* to locate *La Fayette* within a loose dramatic genre called political allegory.¹⁴ The importance of considering a variety of records both in and outside of the canon in understanding literary research in colonial and nineteenth-century works cannot be overstated.

The *Carta*, over one hundred seventy pages long, is really more than a letter; parts are written in verse, others in diary or testimonial format. Colón documents later publication under the title of *La víctima del despotismo, o la España en cadenas bajo el poder arbitrario de Fernando de Borbón* (*Victim of Depotism, or Spain in Chains Under the Arbitrary Rule of Ferdinand of Bourbon*) as having been in London, in 1836 (93). Beginning with an attack on the newspapers who sold out to those in power, Morales tells Mexía to write the “historia harta funesta de la revolución...quita la mascarilla a los infames para que tales como son parezcan y caigan reputaciones usurpadas” (“mournful history of the revolution...pull off the mask of those infamous individuals so that they appear as they really are and let those with usurped reputations fall”)(9).

He begs him to tell the true story of Riego and his enemies. The first portion of the “letter” included forty-nine pages of verse following the versification of a *romance heroico*, sometimes called *romance real* or *endecasílabo*. Each historical or current context treated by the supposed writer

¹³ The copy used by this researcher is missing pages 65 through 71; Colón cites the document as 172 p and apparently some final notes. It is available at the UH Recovery Project.

¹⁴ For detailed information on the uprising of Benigno Morales and the Irish, see Lloréns Castillo 74.

(Benigno Morales) carries a footnote to encyclopedic documentation: letters, charts, tables, editorial, and the detailed circumstances of the conspiratorial ring to which *Riego* refers.

In the *Carta*, Morales, the assumed author, lashes out at the “*vendidos*” ‘*betrayers*’, the journalists who sold out for a job, government position, prestige, or other political plum (6). The first footnote implicates the newspaper the *Imparcial*, edited by Burgos, Miñano, Hermosilla, Lista and others (50). The author especially attacks the *Espectador* whose journalists he refers to as “*cambia-colores...exaltados, moderados, ministeriales, anti-ministeriales, serviles y liberales*” ‘*turncoats...ultra-radicals, moderates, servants of the ministry, anti-ministry, absolutists and liberals*’ (7). Seoane categorizes the *Espectador* (*Spectator*), along with *El Eco de Padilla* (*The Echo of Padilla*), as “*órganos de masones y comuneros*” ‘*news sources of masons and common people*’ (141). The issue of Freemason linguistic ideology and philosophy is crucial in understanding the ambiguity of the political situation reflected in Mexía’s political allegory. The fact is that the discourse used by the opposing factions was essentially the same political discourse.

Seoane also points to the accentuation of division among the different liberal groups, *exaltados* and *moderados*, reflected by those newspapers. The *Espectador* and *El Eco de Padilla* served as political agitators in favor of disbanding the liberating army, a military force that the *exaltados* considered essential to the enforcement of the laws of the new constitutional regime. Riego was banished to Asturias and the political debate complicated with the creation of the secret *Comuneros* and *Hijos de Padilla* societies.

Secret societies were not all that secret in those days, but, in keeping with the *exaltado* position, the *Espectador* maintained no knowledge of the organizations. Those two political factions spoke out against Freemasonry that had played such an important role in the revolution against the French. The *Espectador* appeared in an *exaltada* position against the ministries of Feliú-Bardají and Martínez de la Rosa, using the same type of liberal satirical rhetoric found in *El Zurriago*. Later, that same newspaper, *Espectador*, became a

mouthpiece for the government, when the secret society it represented took over the ministry from Evaristo San Miguel (142). Seoane also said the *Espectador* did not directly defend the uprising in Andalucía in October, 1821, as other newspapers, *El Eco de Padilla* and *El Zurriago* did.

According to Galiano, "Jonama," or José Joaquín de Mora wrote *El Eco de Padilla* (Seoane 142). Mexía coedited *El Correo general de Madrid*, the precursor of *El Constitucional*, with Eduardo de Gorostiza y Cepeda and José Joaquín de Mora. Morales claimed that he and Mexía were not *afrancesados* favoring José Bonaparte. He further claimed the King did not bribe them to attack the ministers, that Mexía was not an intimate friend of the French ambassador and, finally, that neither he nor Mexía had served in the police under Arjona (Carta 53). He reminds his readers that after the uprising of the "batallones de guardia" 'guard battalions', the soldiers left their garrisons shouting: "Viva el rey absoluto y mueran los autores de *El Zurriago* y de *La Tercerola*" 'Long live the absolute king and death to the authors of *The Whip* and *The Mediator*' (54). He referred to Goffiu as the assassin of the eminent patriot Landaburu; the Sociedad Landaburiana exalted his name (55). According to the *Carta*, Judge D. Martín de Pineda put Mexía in prison for seven months for publishing an article not written by him (57). Then the same judge sentenced him to two years for the same offense. Although eventually absolved of this injustice, Mexía and Morales continued to write and publish *El Zurriago* from their cells (58).

Seoane, Alcalá Galiano and others cite *El Zurriago*, which began the end of 1821 during the Andalusian rebellion, as the most widely read, if not widely appreciated newspaper of the Triennium.¹⁵ Zavala described its contents as biting satirical, light, but caustic and incisive, but Alcalá Galiano had other descriptive adjectives such as "procaz" 'impudent' and "soez" 'vile' and objected to his friends buying "the rag". Of course, that diatribe only contributed to *El Zurriago*'s success. The editors published without dates, issued without a fixed delivery or timetable; and wrote with a small format, the newspaper containing

¹⁵ Maria Luisa Colón also includes this newspaper in her bibliography.

only sixteen pages. Zavala maintained that this short, supposedly clandestine, newspaper best revealed the difficult political tensions of the Triennium with its frustrating about-faces and mistakes (4).

In addition to its political importance, the literary significance of *El Zurriago* is undeniable as a type of democratization of literary work. The working-class read those incendiary newspapers, as did highbrow literary types. Political satires and allegories were the preferred mode of written expression to translate the legal, constitutional, and legislative work of the *Cortes*, as limited as it was during those times.

One way to understand the *exaltado* position of Morales and Mexía is the following *décima* which defended the moderate position in *El látigo liberal contra El Zurriago indiscreto* (*The Liberal Whip against the Indiscreet Leather Strap*) (Madrid, 1822) that Zavala called a reply to each one of the articles published by *El Zurriago*:

Ni soy servil, ni *exaltado*,
 Ni francmasón, ni hugonote,
 Ni me paro, no ando al trote;
 Ni tampoco fui jurado
 Menos soy afrancesado
 I am neither absolutist, nor ultra-radical
 Nor Freemason, nor Huguenot
 I neither stop, nor trot;
 Neither was I juror
 Much less Frenchified (15)

The *Espectador* was a political propaganda organ of the Masons; Evaristo San Miguel published it and the newspaper came out against the ministries of Feliu Bardaji and Martínez de la Rosa. That same newspaper later became a ministerial government publication when the Masons took power during the ministry of San Miguel (142).

When the authors of the *Espectador* insisted that the authors of *El Zurriago* were *afrancesados*, Benigno Morales and Félix Mexía acknowledged

their authorship of *El Zurriago* in number twenty-one, denying any such association with the French. Alcalá Galiano also attributed *La Periodicomanía* to Mexía, but Mesonero Romanos claimed that paper was the work of Francisco Camborda. However, Seoane says they may have collaborated on the newspaper (143). Galiano described Morales and his writing skills as a “cordobés y ex guardia de Corps” ‘a Cordovan and ex-guardsman’ who in 1814 when the constitution fell:

...había insultado a los liberales vencidos en pésimos versos capitaneando contra ellos cuadrillas de gente alborotada. Con mayor habilidad versificadora escribe en el trienio en *El Zurriago* composiciones cortas, agudas y malignas que, con el sonsonete del verso se graban en la mente de los lectores

...had insulted the beaten liberals in dreadful verse leading the charge against them with gangs of rowdy people...With greater skill in verse, he writes short stinging slanderous compositions engraved in the mind of readers with droning verse in *The Whip* during the Triennium period (143).

Galiano gave Morales credit for his sincerity considering his youth, only nineteen when shot by a firing squad in Almería in 1824.

On the other hand, Galiano acknowledged Mexía migrated to the United States in 1823, but returned to Spain after the amnesty conceded the liberals by the Regent María Cristina (143). Seoane told of an interesting case concerning Mexía: he disappeared and the *comuneros* attributed his disappearance to a kidnapping and assassination attempt by the Masons. A few days later, he reappeared under strange circumstances and some deemed his tale of adventure a farce. Morales defended him at the Sociedad Landaburiana, but Seoane said even Morales was not completely convinced of the authenticity of the event. According to Seoane, at the end of his life, tired and repentant, Mexía still maintained the kidnapping was real, a stance which made Galiano believe it to be true (144). Whether this is historical truth or merely political antics; it truly reflected the political turmoil of the times.

Despite the criticism of the two major chroniclers of this period, Alcalá Galiano and Mesonero Romanos, *El Zurriago* served its propagandist purpose well. That purpose was to point out government abuses and polemics among public functionaries. Real events provided the fodder for the analyses of repressive laws. The most important of those laws to writers was the one that closed or kept under tight surveillance the patriotic societies and the voluntary national militia, the restriction of the press, and the imprisonment of popular heroes. The purpose of the editors was to educate a rather indistinct and undefined mass population about such abuses. Zavala acknowledged their leadership in recognizing and confiding in the revolutionary potential of that group (30). The satiric language, the farces of political personalities, Morales's satiric poems, and the catchy songs furthered their desire, "crear una conciencia revolucionaria alerta y militante" 'to create an alert militant revolutionary conscience' (31).

Giving the nickname "Tintín" to Judge Martín, and "Poncio Pineda" 'Pontius Pineda' to another government official caused Mexía and Morales no small amount of difficulties (58). However, that type of political satire was apparently the main fare of the Zurriaguistas. Note 4a of the *Carta* told of their decision to leave the pen and pick up the sword. Morales made note of all the *topos* employed to notify other patriots of events about to occur. For instance, the *Tercerola* of June 27, 1823, warned the patriots that they were sitting on top of a volcano about to explode and bury them in ruins. Three days later, the rebellion, with the King himself at the head of six battalions of palace guards actually took place (59). The poem referred to their involvement in communicating events about to happen by giving, "mil y mil veces la al-arma, el grito cuando los riesgos inminentes eran..." 'a thousand and a thousand times over the alarm, the cry went up when the danger was imminent...' (6).

Quotes such as the one above conjure up the image of a young man convinced he was about to die for his involvement in freedom of the press, and in the causes of liberty and justice for all. His goal was to notify "los patriotas puras" 'the chaste patriots' to prevent surprise attacks (7). Now in a jail cell, he faced the terrible reality of his imminent death. His real-life death melds with the

justification that Mexía gave for all the nineteenth-century “*sacerdotes*” ‘priests’ to become heroes (*Riego* 6). The real life Morales was about to become a martyr, as he himself realized, when he said the true recompense for all of their efforts, (meaning his and Félix’s) for their country would be:

El justo premio a los que se interesan
 En favor de los pueblos oprimidos
 El ser omnipotente lo dispensa
 Más allá de la tumba; nuestros nombres
 En las generaciones venideras
 Resonarán con gloria inmarcesible
 Y aplauso, lauro, bendición eterna
 The just prize to all those who care about
 The causes of oppressed peoples
 The omnipotent being dispenses it
 Beyond the tomb; our names
 In the generations to come
 Will resonate with unfading glory
 And applause, laurels, eternal blessings (sic 8)

The poem continued by telling his friend, Mexía, whom he acknowledged to be in the romantic Americas somewhere, that hearts not filled with trickery would provide their praise. Their heroic gesture of writing had become a tragic reality for that young man who said his death would not only bring the “fama con sus cien trompetas” ‘fame with one hundred trumpets’, but also would make their work and words immortal. The fleeting vanity and pomp of this life did not seduce them, but rather the true glories of freedom.

Morales vowed in the next verses to take advantage of his time in prison to pull together all of his notes on the current political situation. He accomplished this by providing footnotes for the poem. The interesting combination of newspaper prose and verse established by *El Zurriago* in Spain is readily apparent in the *Carta* with its poetic quotations from *El Zurriago*.

The *Carta* compares the Triennium to three centuries of Roman wars, then to the medieval story of Rodrigo and Don Julián and the formation of different monarchies (5-13). Under the system of *Cortes*, Morales maintained, the power was still in the hands of the people. The king could not alter laws, ask for tributes, make peace or declare war without approval. He decried the decision of Carlos V, the breakup of the *Cortes* and praised the *comuneros* Padilla, Bravo and Maldonado (13-15). He reserved the worst criticism for the despot Ferdinand VII, his retreat to Bayonne, and sale of the nation to anarchy without a government or a means of defense (17). The poem recorded his conduct:

Corre despavorido hasta Bayona
Y allí se postra con bajeza y mengua
 Lloro besa los pies de Bonaparte
 Y vende a la nación que ingrato deja
 En orfandad...en anarquía horrorosa...
 Terrified, he runs away to Bayonne
 And there weakened, despicable and disgraced
 He cries, kissing Bonaparte's feet
 And sells the nation that he wretchedly
 Leaves an orphan...in horrifying anarchy (sic 17)

In 1805, Napoleon had proclaimed his brother, José, King of the Two Sicilies (Bergamini 126). The French occupation had resulted in violent outbreaks especially in Madrid. After José Bonaparte had proclaimed himself king according to Bergamini, Spain experienced "one of the greatest struggles for national liberation of modern times during which the term 'guerrilla warfare' came into existence" (129). Bergamini told of a commission of judges who acquitted the King of treason for lack of evidence. After that ruling the King became more popular, causing the failure of Godoy's plan to bring down the heir (129). Bergamini, writing in 1974, acknowledged the same letters as Morales did in 1824 (129).

The watershed year for Spain was 1808 when a popular revolt overthrew Godoy, Carlos IV abdicated in favor of Ferdinand VII, and the Bayonne

conference convened where both rulers lost the throne and were held by Napoleon (Bergamini 129). Ferdinand VII had intrigued against Godoy, the Prime Minister, hated by the people, blamed for most of the social problems, and accused of being the Queen's lover. Ferdinand VII, prince of Asturias and heir to the throne, rebelled against his father in Aranjuez. The *Carta* provided footnotes with, "documentos que justifican la fuerza que se hizo a Carlos IV en Aranjuez para que abdicase la corona en Fernando" 'documents that justify the force exerted on Charles IV to abdicate his throne to Ferdinand in Aranjuez' (66). Morales said he and Mexía found those documents and published them in *El Zurriago* and in various newspapers in London (20). The significance of those documents was a description of the Statute of Bayonne, the first constitutional text to appear in Spain, which had no juridical importance in the end because it never came into force. Despite the legal appearance of the double abdication, Ferdinand VII to his father, who in turn abdicated in favor of José Bonaparte on July 8, 1808, the Spanish people refused to accept what they considered an illegitimate, treasonous monarchy.

The Spanish nation was shocked when the French, their previous allies against Portugal, invaded Spain and took Pamplona in 1808, then Barcelona. Bergamini related Godoy's proposal to Carlos IV and Maria Luisa to flee Spain for America, as the Portuguese royalty had done. However, when Prince Fernando and his group fought this course of action, the king hesitated to do anything (130). The Hussars, Mamelukes, a native cavalry from Napoleon's Egyptian expeditions, and the regular troops received a polite reception in March, 1808. Bergamini compared that French parade to that of the young King whom the people received with cheers, bells and fireworks (131). Fernando placated his enemies at first by releasing political prisoners, such as the writer Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos.

In control of the country, Napoleon ordered Ferdinand VII, Carlos IV, the Queen and Godoy to meet with him in Bayonne. Fernando left a junta headed by his Uncle Antonio in charge in Madrid. Fernando was in France six years before he returned to Spain (133). The War of Independence, an all-encompassing national war, followed from 1808 to 1813. After Napoleon ordered the rest of the

royal family to France, the people of Madrid came out in fierce opposition against the French troops under Murat. Goya depicted that famous scene in *Dos de mayo*—the women of Madrid, predominantly the poorer people, attacking the horses of the Mamelukes with knives, while the Spanish soldiers remained in their quarters, according to Bergamini (134). Following the uprising, Fernando recognized his father as the King and Carlos IV gave Spain to Napoleon. When Napoleon sent for his brother José, in case of any need for more military might, he sent for support from garrisons in Mexico, Venezuela and Argentina (135).

The Spanish populace, except for those who supported the French, received “el rey intruso” ‘the intruder king’ coldly (137). Bergamini described in detail personal differences between Napoleon and José, stressing how kind, cultivated and well-educated José was (139). He also made mention of his nickname “Pepe Botellas” because of what he called “fault-finding Spaniards,” who produced underground cartoons and graffiti featuring José always playing cards and drinking. Bergamini described José as nothing more than a “genial gourmet” (141). When José abandoned Madrid, British forces under the future Duke of Wellington landed in Portugal. Those were the same forces the British had planned to send to Spanish America to foment revolution (141). King José made a second entry after Napoleon returned to fight his battles:

In 1809, José rescinded all feudal rights, abolished religious orders and sold church property, as well as that of the resistance (143). When Córdoba, Granada and Málaga gave in without resistance, Sevilla followed after the Supreme Junta left for Cádiz to remain the last center of resistance (144). Napoleon separated the Spanish kingdom in 1810, allowing Cataluña, Aragón, Navarra and Vizcaya to be administered directly by French generals (145).

Bergamini cited four events of the early nineteenth century that Mexía’s dramatic exile works indirectly address: the revolts in Spanish America, the British army retreat to Portugal, guerrilla resistance to the French occupation and the free *Cortes* in Cádiz working on the Constitution for a future liberated Spain (145). Morales related the European situation reflected in the history above in a flood of detailed events with names and dates first in verse, then in footnotes.

The poem continues chronicling events in the Americas. Spain's return of Louisiana to France for Napoleon's promise to enlarge Parma, the sale of Louisiana to the United States on April 30, 1803, and, in 1806, Francisco Miranda's four attempts to liberate Venezuela are all included. In May of 1810, a provisional junta was set up in Argentina; the Hidalgo revolt in Mexico followed in September. The *Carta* also tells of the uprising in Mexico by Creoles, Mestizos, and Indians in a program for national independence and social reform. Despite Hidalgo's capture and execution, outbreaks continued (146).

Vender parte de España a los Estados
De Norte América, sin que diera
Siquiera una noticia de este hecho
Al pueblo hispano, ni exigir su anuncia
To sell part of Spain to the States of
North America, without even notifying
The Spanish people of this event, nor
Demanding the announcement of such...(25)

The footnote follows:

La venta de las islas floridas...en este lugar que los Estados Unidos del Norte de América dieron entonces a Fernando cien millones de reales...engañados por el mismo Fernando, ...hizo la superchería de donar una gran porción de tierras baldías del territorio de las Floridas, al Duque de Aragón, Vargas, y Puñonrostro, sus favoritos...

The sale of the Florida islands...for which the United States of North America then gave one hundred million reales to Fernando...deceived by the same Fernando... he fraudulently donated a great portion of Floridas' territorial public lands to the Duke of Aragón, Vargas and Puñonrostro, his favorites... (86).

The words of the footnote above bring history into focus again. Those footnotes add a journalistic note of realism to the historic verse by Morales. They also point out Hispanic concern for new world territories. Meanwhile back in

Europe, Bergamini quotes Karl Marx concerning the “fatal mistake” of Napoleon as imagining Spain “an inanimate corpse” (147). The *Cortes* of 1810 addressed the need to end the unjust tributes and oppression in Spanish America, but as Bergamini acknowledged, it was not enough or soon enough. The liberal majority did abolish torture, guilds and seigniorial rights, and did pass progressive taxes and limit of censorship regarding religion (149).

The Constitution of 1812 provided for the Catholic Church to remain in control, but established an elected unicameral legislature with more equality in law and changes in taxation, allowing for representative government. Bergamini pointed out the comparison of those who ascribed to Hobbes’s theory versus Locke’s in the discussion of the King’s sovereignty in 1812. Hobbes’s political philosophy emerged dominant, allowing primary sovereignty to the King. In concession to Locke’s theory, there was a restriction to the executive power, providing for the *Cortes* to override the King’s veto (150).

“Derrocar el imperio de las leyes...” “to overthrow the legal empire...(83) the poem in the *Carta* tells us, and the footnote follows with the names of those responsible. The situation was chaotic to say the least. Bergamini mentioned five ministerial posts that some thirty different men occupied in the years from 1814 to 1820 (169). He also quoted a contemporary who said, “the poor generals are left to plant cabbages” (168). That included Espoz y Mina, a small landowner turned guerrilla fighter in Navarra who after the failed attempt in Pamplona escaped to France in 1814. In the dedicatory of *La Fayette* to Mina, this guerrilla fighter became the embodiment of Mexia’s American hero, George Washington.

Lloréns ironically noted that Ferdinand VII was reading François-René le Vicomte de Chateaubriand when he received word of Riego’s uprising in Cabezas de San Juan. Angel Del Río also documented the historical paradox of the nineteenth-century Romantic Chateaubriand’s place in Napoleon’s France. Chateaubriand had held various political positions during the Restoration and sentiments there in 1820 were definitely antiliberal (Del Río 97). Two months after Riego’s uprising, Ferdinand VII accepted the same constitution he abolished six years prior (11). Riego’s show of force against the Holy Alliance was the first

after Napoleon's downfall. The word *libertad* took on a special significance in the Constitution of Cádiz, the legal document that represented the city considered the modern birthplace of liberalism according to Alcalá Galiano. Alcalá Galiano was certainly right in his perception that Spain was first in the fight for political liberty in Europe. The early liberal movement, albeit fractured, prompted proclamations heard in favor of the very same Constitution to the letter in Naples, Piedmont, and shortly afterward in Portugal (Lloréns 12).

The ideological spirit of the oratory at *Cortes* transferred to the written words of the Constitution through the heroics of the moment, carrying a special patriotic prestige throughout Europe. The only other code of the stature of the Constitution of Cádiz had been elaborated on the other side of the ocean. Only the United States Constitution could match the Spanish one in patriotic glory. The British unwritten constitution and the French one, ruined by Napoleon's hegemony, could not speak with the same symbolic value. The next two chapters speak to the historical reflection of those tumultuous years from 1820 to 1823 in Spain, as reflected in the two dramas published in Philadelphia.

I believe as Angel del Rfo maintained that the favorite liberal thesis--that the rebellion of the *comuneros* was an antecedent to modern liberalism-- is completely erroneous. He saw this as an example of a confusion of literature, history, and politics in the heat of those heroic moments (109). José Alberich added that the European liberal agenda was both ingenuous and too black and white in the thought that the New World *gritos* were echoes of the European *pronunciamientos*. The same author made note of the phenomenon of independence as a pain-staking process involving a minority of liberal citizens and anti-monopolistic commercial interests. So, as I see it, both liberal citizens and conservative free enterprise business interests were necessary to persuade "al estanciero y al pastor de que el 'yugo' español era ya insufrible" "the small farmer and the shepherd that the Spanish yoke was insufferable (ix). European hegemonic political history reflected in early nineteenth-century Hispanic political writing all over the world.

Liberal exaltado or *moderado* against *moderado afrancesado* or maybe just *más o menos exaltado* were all possible labels for liberal political writing that appeared in the Spanish press during the three years of the Constitutional Triennium, from 1820 to 1823. Those were crisis years in Spain, with literary production reduced mainly to translations of foreign works formerly prohibited by the absolutists (Seoane 119). Several sources documented Mexía's close association with those very political newspapers.¹⁶

El Zurriago, Mexía's *Encíclica*, Morales' *Carta*, historical sources, political essays by a variety of New World Hispanic firebrands, and the translated speech by De Witt Clinton all confirm the theatrical display in the international idiom of freedom. Freemason political discourse is readily apparent in the *Carta*, despite the writer's stance against the same organization. The publication of Mexía's two dramas in Philadelphia allegorically displayed his political concerns in the universal patriotic discourse used by all politicians.

Mexía's *Encíclica* and Other Essays in Support of Mexía's Constitutional Thesis: Written Laws to Protect Liberty, Property, Security, and Resistance to Oppression

Pope Leon XII issued an encyclical on September 24, 1824, to which Mexía and others responded. Mexía's response was his own *Encíclica* published in Philadelphia, in January of 1826. The Pope directed the encyclical to his bishops and archbishops in the Americas in support of the Bourbon tyrant Ferdinand VII. Mexía included the Pope's encyclical in its entirety at the beginning of his own *Encíclica*. The Pope lashed out at enemies of the monarchy, who had caused the deplorable situation in Spain, and lamented the resulting damage to religion (A2). The Pope expressed concern over the propagation of books and pamphlets that held in contempt both ecclesiastical and civil powers. He decried those writings as blasphemous, sacrilegious, and heretical. Referring to the past as a lesson, he cited the first obligation of the Church as conservation of religion. He called this a duty upon which the tranquility of the nation

¹⁶ Besides Vicente Lloréns Castillo, Iris Zavala and María Cruz Seoane Couceiro provide invaluable details about those newspapers produced in Spain and in exile locations. The study by Dolores Gómez on the influence of *El Zurriago* in Galdós's work is also an excellent resource.

necessarily depended. He stressed that the one true religion could not remain the same in purity and integrity in a kingdom divided into so many factions. He then extolled the virtues of Ferdinand VII as the Catholic King of the two Spains (6). Mexía's stance as a journalist forced him to speak out against religious and political censorship. His desire for written constitutional laws expressed in his political satire and his thesis placed him squarely against all that the encyclical represented. His constitutional dreams later translate to the expression of a past national familial tragedy in *Riego* and a political family romance in *La Fayette*.

Mexía said Pius VII had changed his liberal stance in 1816 when he convinced the patriots of Mexico and South America to obey Ferdinand VII. He then regained his liberal character, according to Mexía, when he received José Ignacio Cienfuegos as an agent for the Chilean Republic, a proper ambassador of an independent nation. He said the present Pope Leon XII had adopted a similar stance writing to the Supreme Director of the Chilean Republic, Ramón Freyre, and calling him son. Then, the author says, the Pope turned on Freyre by supporting the tyrant of Spain (11). Mexía called to the governments of the New World to convince the Pope of his abuse of authority in interfering in the natural legal right of those people to choose any system of government they desired.

Mexía also brought up the Vatican's need for money minted in those new American republics. Then he suggested that Rome would probably issue papal bulls to protect liberty and independence. Following this, the Pope would declare his glorious saintly efforts in defense of natural rights while collecting from them (12). Mexía suggested that the representatives of the Roman Catholic Church in the Americas recognize their spiritual authority as emanating directly from the first apostle through the Savior.

Mexía described the encyclical as venomous, divisive, discordant, inciting civil war, destructive to political parties, and not allowing for divergence in opinions. The result of following the encyclical would be all power directly concentrated in the hands of a tyrant (13). There was a call to all philosophers and lovers of humanity to support the Mexican government. The announcement ran in the *Gaceta Democrática* on the twenty-eighth of September, 1824, four days after

the issuance, to respond to that encyclical, employing the question cited at the beginning of Mexía's *Encíclica* concerning the jurisdiction of the papacy (A1). Félix Mexía was not the only one who heeded the call.¹⁷ Fray Servando Teresa de Mier and other Mexican religious figures addressed the same. There were even polemics among the latter along doctrinal lines, with accusations of Jansenism, and Jesuit interpretations exposed in a variety of documents (Lloréns, *Liberales* 159-160).

There were certainly earlier efforts later echoed in Mexía's *Encíclica*. Colón attributed a collection of essays to the Venezuelan Juan Germán Roscio with essentially the same thesis of using the Bible to prove the sovereignty of nations. *El triunfo de la libertad sobre el despotismo, o la confesión de un pecador arrepentido de sus errores políticos, y dedicado a desagrar, en esta parte a la religión ofendida con el sistema de la tiranía* (*The Triumph of Liberty over Despotism or the Confession of a Sinner Repentant and Dedicated to make up for his Political Errors on the part of Religion Offended by the System of Tyranny*) [sic] appeared in 1817. Roscio was a university professor at the University of Caracas. He served as a representative for the city of Calabozo during the elections in the seven provinces that then constituted the American Confederation of Venezuela. Besides signing the Act of Independence, he wrote the public declaration of the Confederation for the other countries. He also made valuable contributions to the Venezuelan Federal Constitution. Roscio served as the Venezuelan Secretary of State and Foreign Relations. Authorities imprisoned him for his political activities, then moved him to a prison in Cádiz from which he escaped in 1814. *El triunfo*, (*Triumph*) first censored in Caracas, found that Spanish citizens both from the New World and the old had spent time in prison in Spain. Several sources commented on the propagandizing of Freemasonry among the prisoners; that propaganda found publication in Philadelphia and other revolutionary centers. Colón cited Roscio's reason for publishing the essays as a direct response to pro-monarchy propaganda that used the Bible as its base. He

¹⁷ Lloréns cites José Canga Argüelles, Joaquín Lorenzo Villaneuva and others, including several anonymous works.

expressed the impossibility of reconciling despotism with Christianity. Using Biblical arguments that condemned oppression, he proposed to rectify his prior position supporting Ferdinand VII (Colón 32).

The central question of Mexía's *Encíclica*, proposed by the Mexican government, regarded the Pope's limits of authority in the exercise of his spiritual power and whether or not such authority could influence the sovereignty and independence of nations. His thesis rested on three points clearly spelled out on the first page.¹⁸ The first point concerned the limits of the Pope's authority from the spiritual world with relation to his political influence that Mexía saw as an abuse. The second point compared the Pope's authority to that of the other bishops, and the third defined the natural and divine right of nations to establish governments.

Mexía compared Moses, Joshua and other political leaders of ancient Israel to Jesus, who came to redeem mankind from slavery to sin. That slavery to sin equaled the tyranny of Satan. Jesus received his power from God the Father. The author maintained that the Pope proposed to have more extensive authority for himself than Jesus himself transmitted to his disciples. He quoted from the passage from the Bible where Jesus told Pontius Pilate that the reign of the Son of God was not here (16).

Based on those words, Jesus clearly drew the line between spiritual and temporal power. Also quoted are "render unto Caesar what is Caesar's..." and scriptures illustrating Jesus' noninvolvement in the political discussions of his day (17). Other Biblical interpretations included the reaction of Jesus when asked to decide on the inheritance of two brothers. He responded asking who made him the judge between two brothers. Also mentioned was the stance of the Church that "he who resists temporal authorities, resists God's commandments," which Mexía said included men's right to choose their own government (18). James A. Epstein in *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol in England, 1790-1850* provided an appropriate quote for Mexía's posture, although his reference

¹⁸ The first page is unnumbered; the second numbered A2, the subsequent ones 6 through 41.

was about British politics of the same period. Epstein spoke of “marrying primitive Christianity to popular constitutionalism in the service of populist insurgency” (146). That description helped to explain the political allegory of *Riego* and *La Fayette*.

Epstein, in reference to specifics in Thomas Paine’s theories, spoke of a symbolic language as a legacy of the French Revolution. Quoting passages from Thomas Paine’s *The Rights of Man*, the author pointed out the importance of government by the living, not the “traditions of the dead,” and the release of the people’s consent from “historical precedent” (5). The importance of natural rights as rational theory and the anti-historicism of Paine’s work were points well made by Epstein. He defined Paine’s view well when he said, “Democratic rights thrive in an imminent present freed from reference to the past” (5). Paine represented a break from eighteenth-century classical reasoning and historical literary traditions that provided a model for rebels all over the world.

The axiom of the Church--“they who were apostles are now bishops”--was based on the words of Jesus: “As my father sent me, I send you.” The establishment of jurisdiction was purely spiritual and Mexía recognized the Pope as the Primate of the Catholic Church (19). He reminded the Pontificate that though he might be a legitimate successor to Saint Peter, he was not a descendent of the Emperor Constantine, or any other monarch (20). Those were strong words, indeed, even for someone who had thought nothing of poking fun at his own ruling monarch before leaving Spain, and who had spent a fair amount of time incarcerated for such writing. Those words explain Mexía’s need to hide under a pseudonym even in exile in the New World. Mexía signed the drama *Riego* with the initials P.J.J.M.X. del R. to stand for Juan José Manuel Ximénez del Río. Evidently he feared the long arm of the Inquisitorial police even in the New World.

The role of the Pope as the bishop of Rome was the same as his bishops in any diocese. He quoted more scriptures on the role of leaders, citing especially the call from Saint Peter to all apostles, since in every society there is a need for such men of action to protect man’s eternal rights, which Mexía listed as liberty,

property, security, and resistance to oppression (14). While the Pope had the role to prevent division of the Church, all apostles had the same spiritual power (21). The author brought up the Council of Trent, which had failed to address that very question in the middle of the sixteenth century. The result was that despite five years of meetings, the Council never dealt directly with the role of the papacy, a major point of Martin Luther and the Protestants. The author credited philosophy and the previous Century of Enlightenment for spreading the word: the Pope only had episcopal jurisdiction in the Roman diocese, the same as each bishop in his respective diocese (29). The Pope's display of authority was a usurpation of power.

Defending the third point Mexía referred repeatedly to other Biblical scriptures, as well as to principles of law. He ascribed to the need for a government that free men could recognize by means of natural reason, a society set up in agreement with the governed, to allow for the election of their governors. He asked: "...who should dictate the rules of the union, its conventions or laws that all society should follow?"..."Should those governed or the society that created the government, or the government created by society?"(30). He answered that the society that created the government should dictate the laws by which all those associated with such should be governed. All should take part in what concerns all and should approve what was important for all. Mexía denied the sovereignty of the monarchy. "With the clarity of the sun," he said, "we see the absurdity of persuading a people to obey blindly and in perpetuity kings, their descendents or any other government not established by the people" (31).

Interestingly enough, he recommended that all who feel they should be held to monarchy because their ancestors were, should hear, not read, the words of freedom, "...oygan a Don Tomas Paine en su derecho del hombre..." "...hear Mr. Thomas Paine on his rights of man..."(sic 32). As a man of oratory and journalism, he knew the power of an economical use of words, both written and spoken, to sway public opinion. Also quoting from such a radical forbidden source as *Rights of Man* provided more authority to his words. Quoting Paine's work implied a desire for true freedom of speech. The mere act of publishing *The*

Age of Reason some fourteen years earlier had resulted in imprisonment for those involved. According to Epstein, that book represented a break from the eighteenth-century classical literary tradition of elitism, which held that there are separate truths for different societal classes. Any elite reservations should be set apart for elite readers and kept from the masses to protect social order (103). Epstein described Paine's work as straightforward "eloquence and wit" with no special concessions to the upper classes (104). The break from elitism represents the romantic sentiment present in Mexía's political allegory in *Riego* and *La Fayette*.

While opponents may have been able to dispute Paine's reasoning, they found it more difficult to answer "his confident assertions, vehement declamations, and smart repartees..." (104). The importance of a certain literary style for expressing revolutionary thought was readily apparent. Paine rejected the "historical coherence and morality" of the Bible as well as the mysteries involved in religion (Epstein 146). It was ironic that Mexía invoked Paine's name as an orator of truth, while at the same time quoting so many prophecies from the Old Testament.

Epstein also noted Paine's theological stand in light of the French Revolution, citing a dualism that spoke against both Christianity and atheism (104). That same author commented on the need of nineteenth-century revolutionaries to make their stand, not only in the name of reason, but also with the authority of constitutional rhetoric. He stressed the imprecision of political discourse as purposely vague and complex. The nuances of any particular reference, such as the one in Mexía's *Encíclica* to the voice of the renowned Paine, can be subtly or even radically different depending on their time and place. While political rhetoric rightly involves philosophy, it lacks distinct language precision (20).

Mexía deemed ridiculous the notion of a king's birthright. He said: "...es un atentado absurdo y tiránico, la vanidad y presunción de gobernar mas allá del sepulcro" 'it is an absurd tyrannical attempt, vanity and presumption to govern beyond the sepulcher' (32). Government was for the living, not the dead, he

claimed. Quoting Paine again, Mexía acknowledged sovereignty could not be based on the patrimony of any one family or person. Mexía authorized men to adopt the form of government they found most useful for conserving their rights.

Saint Thomas of Aquinas also figured in the citations as well, regarding the rights of men to restrain or destroy any king who tyrannically abused his power. Reverting to the Bible again in Proverbs, Mexía found the dignity of a king reflected in the masses, and deduced the reverse must also be true. From Genesis, there was Abraham in favor of the insurgents and Jacob for the sovereignty of the People (33). In Deuteronomy, so called because it “repeats the law,” sovereignty was clearly spelled out Mexía said, as well as in a variety of other examples (35).

Ironically Félix Mexía quoted many Old Testament scriptures to prove the illegal, unjust and abusive intervention of the Pope in the sovereign affairs of the Americas. He described the combination of the bishop’s staff as a symbol of spiritual authority, and the sword as an emblem of temporal power, as a monstrous amalgam (37). He referred to the sad history of Ireland, Africa, and Asia under the Portuguese. The author decried the right of Alexander VI to donate the Canary Islands and the Americas to the kings of Spain (38).

Finally, Mexía invoked the Pope to return honor to the Curia by replacing the present encyclical with “*otras letras que auxilien la libertad de los pueblos americanos*” ‘other writing that would help the cause of liberty among the Americans’ (38). Mexía wanted written words as a security to protect liberty, as he well knew from his experiences during the Triennium, the treacherous world of the spoken word. Reminding the primate of his role as Saint Peter, he suggested the Pope follow Saint Paul’s advice: “*El hombre que milita por Dios, no debe mezclarse en negocios del siglo*” ‘The man who is politically active for God shouldn’t be involved in the business of his century’ (39). Mexía returned to his biting tongue with the suggestion that Saint Peter’s happy days of evangelical poverty had disappeared like smoke. The Book of Acts, chapter three, in the Bible provided an example. When Saint Peter cured a lame man with only the miraculous power of his words, he simply told him to rise and walk away. Of

course, the analogical writer Mexía referred to nineteenth-century Popes who no longer had the power to perform miracles by word alone, but who had what St. Peter lacked: gold and silver. In an extraordinary metamorphosis, he compared the beautiful daughter of Zion to the Church, now disfigured by the gold and silver given in the form of papal bulls (39).

Gold and silver, not reason and justice, were the objectives of the Pope's document and Mexía suggested that Spain, in all of its poverty, could not compete with the American colonies. He stated the logical result. There was no rational motive to doubt that the Pope would sanctify America's liberty and independence (40). After all, Ferdinand VII could obtain Papal bulls to consolidate his despotism. Mexía satirically calculated there was even more reason to assume the American's just cause would convince the Pope by "el cuanto vos contribuistéis" 'how much you contribute' (41).

In a final dramatic call to all the nations of the earth, he justified the eternal right of sovereignty written in indelible characters in the hearts of all men. Consult the holy book of nature and convince yourselves it is no crime of impiety, or affront to religion, he said. Then he harangued his reader/listener to take an impassioned stand repelling the efforts of all tyrants and fanatics who would force them to eternally suffer the infamous chain (42). The chain was a chameleon metaphor revisited repeatedly in all of the revolutionary propaganda.

Heroic Words for Political Allegory

Those words of the *Cortes* in Spain pulled loose from their original historic base encoded by a specific cultural base. They would only find more stability in the form of written laws. Those men were fighting for the Constitution of 1812; they were fighting for written words and their meanings. Interestingly enough, many of the fighting words used at *Cortes* in the form of oratory became part of that written document and others that followed. Benigno Morales referred in his letter to the sacrosanct rights that are our birthright (21).

The genres of both oratory and periodical literature provided a special flavor to Spanish liberal political discourse of the nineteenth century. Seoane found both most representative and characteristic of that century. She defined

oratory as “el género decimonónico por antonomasia” the nineteenth-century genre par excellence’ (8). Nowhere was this dialectical verbal bullfight more prevalent than in the powerful commercial and radical city of Cádiz during the Triennium. In today’s world of fleeting meaning based on commercial value, words spoken or written soon lose their value after the generation that coins them no longer is present in media. Probably yesterday’s jingle, thirty-second sound bite, commercial buzz word or inside joke will mean nothing to future generations unless they are unearthed in the future as an archeological artifact or sociological curiosity.

On the other hand, certain words in political discourse have retained enough emotional value to carry the force of universal ideological meaning over centuries. Of course, they have been used for causes sometimes unrelated to their utopian goals. After all, who would negate such basic principles as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness? Each Hispanic nation employed those same capture-the-heart words in the years of nation building, words still used in political discourse today. Those words created heroes by establishing an emotional bond between the cause and those involved in the cause.

Those words even played a major role in Latin America, for the story of the Spanish Peninsular caudillo was a major part of nineteenth-century history. The Roman Catholic Church sometimes played a role in supporting military strongmen as well as Masonic organizations. Both liberal and conservative regimes in those countries have experienced turmoil. Those words crossed the Atlantic both ways in a variety of languages, from a mixed cultural heritage defining certain cultural values. The traces of many generations and many peoples made up the words of nation-building.

New World visionaries had access to Spanish translations of many of the already classic works on emancipation throughout this hemisphere as well as in Europe. Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Social Contract* and Thomas Paine’s *The Rights of Man* and *Common Sense* inspired the likes of Simón Bolívar and Francisco Miranda, as well as the actual deeds of the American and French revolutions (Colón 11). Publishers put out fifty-six anonymous English editions of the

pamphlet *Common Sense* in 1776 alone, not counting the translations (*Common Sense* 129). Beyond political borders and specific national plans, the emancipationist propaganda produced followed similar semantic lines. Those passionate writers sprinkled the word *liberty* throughout those documents. Usually the depiction was female, and she herself could even become the despot.

Carlos Le Brun provided just such a representation of the female anarchist Liberty. Le Brun was a government interpreter in Pennsylvania and the author of a number of works published in Spanish (Colón 53). In *Retratos políticos de la revolución de España* (*Political Portraits of the Spanish Revolution*) he portrayed liberty as a despot saying she disguised herself with the word *liberty* in place of *king* when she reigned. Force and illusion as passions of the heart became the only ways to control the anarchy resulting from the convulsive uprisings of revolution. Liberty herself was an illusion or chimera he maintained (375). She was “hija de la naturaleza, y no de la sociedad” ‘Nature’s daughter, not Society’s’ (403). Social man confronted his own human nature in this daughter.

Liberty only served as a pretext for ambition to seduce the people with her special charms. The author maintained the liberals of the Constitutional Triennium in Spain did not really love her, but only employed the beautiful sound of her name to convince men to follow. In the American colonies, on the other hand, Le Brun saw the perfection of heroes, and liberty became one supernatural God (402) to replace the many kingly gods on earth that figured in European hegemonic history. American freedom recalled the rustic simplicity and wisdom of the liberty of Athens and Rome (403). Le Brun said the Constitution of 1812 was nothing more than a beautiful painting to hang in the grand salon of the nation (405). In his essay highlighting the differences between the Spanish situation of the Constitutional Triennium and the American Revolution, Le Brun recalled the condescension of Ferdinand VII as a good will not to be trusted (367). The Freemason notion of an enlightened monarch wise enough to abstain from total domination was simply not a possibility under that despotic ruler.

New World as well as Old World patriots employed similar ñ in describing freedom. Some prevalent expressions were the strength of liberty,

throwing off the chains of despotism, the tree, seed or plant of liberty, and the tribunal of reason. The immortality of Washington and the sanctifying of Washington, D. C., as the temple of independence similar to Athens or Rome as employed in Mexía's drama *La Fayette* were also common (26-30). The allegorical portrayal of the United States Constitution as an old wife was, however, rather unique, while not farfetched, when one considers the historical and political circumstances of the period. Mexía had already referred to her in *El Zurriago* as "la señora doña Constitución" 'dear lady Madame Constitution' and spoke of the "funcionarios públicos" 'public officials' as "criados de la nación" 'servants of the Nation' (33:1).

In his *Encíclica* and the two dramas critiqued in the chapters to follow, Félix Mexía employed the same line of reasoning used by other Hispanic liberals, a thought process couched in late eighteenth-century, early nineteenth-century rhetoric. James A. Epstein commented on the importance of rationalism based on Thomas Paine's writings that provided the title of his book *Radical Expression* about English politics of the same period. His work included case studies of "social dramas" that he said radicals used to reflect their societal concern (viii).

They were politically motivated narratives that constituted a format for maintaining traditions of popular plebian cultural memories. Epstein's revealing essays included one description of a court case where the remembrance of the Magna Carta was invoked (43). During a particular trial, the defense involved different representations of law and constitutional liberty. Epstein pointed out the importance of speaking, writing and acting in particular ways to suit specific circumstances, a cunning device he called the "situatedness of political expression" (vii).

That author dealt mainly with specific displays of symbolic power such as toasts, raising the cap of liberty at political meetings, and specific legal defenses. Inherent in those actions was a certain theatrical oratory similar to that of the Spanish *Cortes* of the same period. The notion of the density of specific gestures, words, and phrases in a specific field of power calls to mind the need for identity with a specific cause. He also rightly maintained the necessity and cost of that

strategy “for dissident voices who must confront and calculate the cultural, discursive, and ultimately physical force of those holding state and civil power” (vii). That type of ritual politics was important to solidify the beginnings of the liberal movement all over Europe and certainly a practice not unheard of in the Americas. Epstein acknowledged the definition of a “distinct political culture and public sphere of discourse that is in opposition to that of the ruling elites of both their nation and local communities” (164). In Mexia’s political allegories, the ritualistic reincarnation of a political constitution as the wife of a Spanish revolutionary and an old United States revolutionary soldier confirms that same type of sacramental political strategy.

Meanwhile in the western hemisphere, hidden under similar rhetoric, there were basic differences in what the Hispanic Americans were fighting for and the attitude of many of the Peninsular Spaniards. While the Peninsular Spaniards may not have sensed any incompatibility with their brothers across the seas, here it was important to act rather than just reason. Lloréns provided the following quote:¹⁹

El equívoco fundamental consistió en que los liberales españoles estuvieron dispuestos desde el principio a dar a los americanos todas las libertades menos la independencia, que era a lo que aspiraban éstos en primer término con libertades o sin ellas

The fundamental mistake of the Spanish liberals consisted of their willingness to give Americans all the liberties except independence, which is what they aspired to have, with or without liberties (*Liberales* 249).

It was obviously more than a semantic difference between *libertad* and *libertades*.

The Hispanic liberals of the Americas did not demand independence employing inflated words. Vicente Rocafuerte’s speech often used hard economics in place of high-flying abstractions. The verbal appeal in support of constitutional freedoms by Peninsular Hispanics translated traditionally, while the Hispanics overseas often used Arabic figures, not figures of speech, in the universal business language of numbers. The following quote is from *Ideas*

¹⁹ Leal and Cortina cite Pedro Rojas Garcidueñas in those differences, who also used Lloréns.

necesarias a todo pueblo americano que quiera ser libre (Necessary Ideas for all American Peoples who desire to be Free) by Vicente Rocafuerte:

Compararán los excesivos gastos de estas monarquías constitucionales con la admirable economía del gobierno americano; verán prácticamente que para gobernar grandes naciones no se necesitan ni familias privilegiadas, ni coronas, ni cruces, ni títulos ni plaga de cortesanos; que basta sólo un jefe del poder ejecutivo, un presidente como él de los Estados Unidos con 25.000 duros de renta...

They will compare the excessive costs of these constitutional monarchies with the admirable economy of the American government; they will see that to govern practically large nations, one does not need privileged families, nor crowns or crosses, nor titles nor the plague of those at Court; that it is enough to have a head of the executive power, a president like that of the United States with a 25,000 duros (five peseta coin) income (6).

Colón provided a basic biography and bibliography for Vicente Rocafuerte. He was born in Guayaquil in 1783, studied in France and traveled all over Europe rubbing shoulders with such revolutionary leaders as Simón Bolívar. In 1812, he was a representative to the Spanish *Cortes* from the province of Guayaquil. He visited Havana in 1821 and then the United States. He maintained a relationship with a variety of freedom fighters in Philadelphia (Colón 36). Leal and Cortina acknowledge a similarity of thought between Rocafuerte and Félix Varela (xiii). He was intent on stopping Agustín de Iturbide from taking the crown to Mexico, and a firm defender of republican principles and lobbied to fight the United States recognition of Iturbide.²⁰ Lloréns confirms that by July of 1824 he was secretary of the Mexican delegation in London (*Liberales* 261). The

²⁰ Although Colón cites availability of this work at the Library of Congress, Univ. of PA and the Hispanic Society of NY, a copy from Harvard College Library is now available at the UH Recovery Project.

prologue of *Ideas necesarias a todo pueblo americano que quiera ser libre* is one example of many works that demonstrated the magnetic appeal of liberty.²¹ Published in 1821 by Vicente Rocafuerte, later President of Ecuador, his work contained all the earmarks of those early radical political speeches. The speech literally spoke to his people from Philadelphia, employing many liberal pat phrases that were echoing in the Spanish *Cortes*. Rocafuerte pointed out the value of the principles that governed the United States, recommending that his fellow freedom fighters follow in Washington's footsteps. He satirized the monarchy as "barbara" 'barbarian' and "mohosa" 'musty' and enumerated the difficulties ahead for South America. Fighting the "the servility of a decadent Europe" (3), he recommended tolerance of their friends in peace, the Peninsular Spaniards, who were victims of the same tyranny (17). "We offer liberty, security and protection", he said to all who wished to take advantage of the new system of government (17).

Félix Mexía who listed the same three rights as basic to liberty, also added individual property rights and resistance to oppression (140) echoing those words in his *Encíclica*. The concept of justified resistance was very much at the heart of all of those writings. It was impossible to think Spain could isolate her American colonies from the reform and wars in Europe and the beginning revolutionary movements all over Latin America and the Caribbean. Bolívar himself, although born in Venezuela, was educated in Spain and participated in the French Revolution. In 1824 when Spain lost the Battle of Ayacucho in Peru, the Monroe Doctrine of the year before served as a wake up call to Ferdinand VII and the Holy Alliance.

Spanish influence in the New World was simply no longer realistic. By then, Spain was bankrupt, the British navy was in control of the high seas, and Hispanic Americans were committed to resistance. Bergamini mentioned the culpability of "Spanish liberal politicians of the 1820 to 1823 interval, finding

²¹ Colón attributes the *Memoria politico-instructiva* to him during this period, while Leal and Cortina say this work belongs to Fray Servando Teresa de Mier, *Jicotencal* xxvi.

loans more popular than taxes..." (181). By the time of Ferdinand VII's death in 1833, his title of King of the Indies held true only for Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines with a long struggle ahead for those nations (Bergamini 182). During the nineteenth century in politically active Philadelphia there were also many publications regarding personal political justification.

One such case was José Alvarez de Toledo. He wrote the exhausting title: *Manifiesto o satisfacción pundonorosa a todos los buenos españoles europeos, y a todos los pueblos de la América por un diputado a las Cortes reunidas en Cádiz* (Public Declaration or Punctilious Satisfaction to all the good Spanish Europeans and to all of the Peoples of America by a Member of the Spanish Parliament in Cádiz). According to Colón, he was among the precursors to José Martí in lobbying for Cuba's independence from Spain. He published his *Manifiesto* in the newspaper *La Aurora* (The Dawn) in Philadelphia. He offered his services to Colonel Bernardo Gutiérrez de Lara who was planning an invasion of Mexico. He later went to Texas, breaking off his friendship with Gutierrez de Lara. Defeated near the Medina River, he returned to Philadelphia to publish justification of his actions. Alvarez de Toledo was an interesting figure who evidently had a change of political heart after his initial reform tendencies, asked for a royal pardon, and served as ambassador to Naples (Colón 24). His exploits are detailed by Jacobina Burch in her *History of the Early Newspapers of San Antonio, 1823-1874*, an original manuscript available at the Recovery Project in Houston. According to that source, he brought the first printing press to Texas in 1813 (18).

Sometimes the chain of despotism was described as a chain of slavery, with links back to an imaginary past that was a country of freedom whose very memory and tradition in human nature had been destroyed (Le Brun 345). That same author called up a chain of European kings that had taken the name of *revolution* to dethrone a predecessor or kill him (379). He did not see the uprising of the *comuneros* as a true revolution (379) as the *moderados* and some *exaltados* such as Benigno Morales, Félix Mexía and a mixed bag of revolutionaries in Spain surely believed. The *Carta* provided proof when Morales decried their three years of resistance, suffering lies, the shuttering of their journalistic

enterprises, the quieting of their patriotic voices, the tormenting of the opposing sell-out journalist, who:

Que disparaban aceradas flechas
 Al corazón de la infeliz patria
 Cuando con imposturas deprimieran
 Para que vida y libertad tuviera
 Juntos sufrimos las persecuciones
 Y juntos arrastramos la cadena
 Shot steely arrows straight to the
 Heart of the wretched country
 They depressed with imputations
 So that they could have life and liberty
 Together we suffered the persecutions
 And together we drag the chain (6).

The above quote supports the linguistic universality of patriotic discourse. The last word *chain* is the most important for it will serve as a *link* in the remembrance chain of words that will become the *ring* of conspiracy calling up those memories in Mexía's dramas.

The letter from Benigno Morales to Félix Mexía provided a glimpse of the chain of events in his exile from the chaotic political world Mexía left behind in Spain. Riego and *La Fayette* confront the reader with several different worlds both real and fictional. Viewing those types of works from different angles, you see the author's message changes. Surely for every literary work written there are anthropological, historical, sociological, pure Marxist, and any number of linguistic types of readings. Whose "sun of truth" regarding political conspiracies are we to believe and does it really matter? While disclaiming any credentials as a historian, the Marxist maxim to historicize would force me to endeavor to sort out truth from political discourse. The object of political oratory is not truth, but persuasion.

I propose no such possibility of assigning absolute veracity from the political, historical, and literary documents researched. Rather, the literary

proposition is to look at the underlying story of *La Fayette*, a seemingly innocuous little drama that contains a very engaging historical background tying the fledgling United States Constitution to a European Constitution that many neither remember nor appreciate. By facing off to this historical background by way of the words of revolution, the linguistic base for Mexí'a's written political allegory finds a traditional oral cultural base. The very idea that political discourse could reflect unvarnished truth becomes highly suspect as we consider the traces of political oratory from the Spanish *Cortes* readily apparent in the written rhetoric.

Umberto Eco said that a standard of the reactionary thinking process was precisely this "double equation, between Truth and Origin and between Origin and Language. The Thought of Tradition served only to confirm a mystical belief that arrested any further reasoning" (115). Political liberal discourse reflected in the Hispanic texts produced in early nineteenth-century Philadelphia was caught up in the "flame of analogy" that Eco attributed to Joseph de Maistre's form of reasoning and was very much at the heart of allegory. According to de Maistre, reasoning belonged to a web of analogy that was actually the genesis of all knowledge (115). That flew in the face of any kind of cultural/historical notion that languages develop, without supernatural control slowly over time to a more stabilized usage with "borrowings (deliberate or unconscious), poetic inventions, conventional whims and 'iconic' attempts" (114).

Mexí'a's Linguistic Identity in the Universal Sun of Truth: the Freemason Speech

by De Witt Clinton and Political Allegory

Another important analogy in liberal political discourse was the fire metaphor. The symbolic importance of fire was undeniable and European, as well as American writers, and orators spoke of freedom's flames spreading across the world. The Freemason emblem of a fiery sun symbolized the authority of identity provided by the group. In the end, organized or unorganized, religious or secular, revolutionary or status quo political authority is authority nonetheless. It was in identifying with this powerful sun of truth and light that the liberal discourse of those times drew its strength, apparently in both New World as well as old. Mexí'a

maintained that the abuse of power negated any rights king, church or secular political authority could have over its people. A speech translated to Spanish entitled "The Sun of Truth," by De Witt Clinton, was an interesting find for this researcher.²²

DeWitt Clinton was an American lawyer, member of the Anti-Federalist Party first in the New York legislature, then as a member of the United States Senate, and finally mayor of New York City until 1815. This man was the opponent against James Madison for the United States presidency. He also served as governor of the state of New York from 1817 to 1823. The translator's note to his readers in the preface to the speech transcript was revealing. It began with a quote in Latin, not translated: "In the beginning is the Word, and the Word is with God and the Word is God" (1 John). The translator Oviedo attacked superstition, religious fanaticism and the despotism of kings as issues responsible for the oppression of the multitudes. The desire of those entities was to maintain the ignorance of the masses of man's eternal right of civil liberty, personal security, legal equality, and right to resistance.

Despots had done away with reason and justice that spoke directly from the heart and called man to knowledge and the desire to conserve the dignity of his person (45). Praising freemasonry, he cited the fundamental bases of the brotherhood as charity, love of fellow man, concern for the well being of all humanity, and the right to attack tyranny and fanaticism. The rapid progress of enlightenment allowed for the propagation of philosophy, the translator wrote. Decrying the ignorance of the people that were not as instructed as he would like, the translator proposed to present this speech on the Masonic Brotherhood, since there were those who detested and abhorred the very principles it stood for. He acknowledged he was translating the speech specifically to detail the celebration for which Clinton proposed to justify the goals of freemasonry presenting the true aspects of the institution. Clinton said the society taught all to love, applaud and venerate freemasonry (46).

²² The translator is Carlos de Oviedo.

The Spanish translation of that speech followed Mexía's *Encíclica*. This researcher asked the following question: Why would someone at some point see fit to attach it to Mexía's thesis concerning papal authority and natural right to the formation of free government?²³ Thoughts of justified resistance were the simple common denominator, but a further search regarding Clinton's political position in early United States history gave way to more specific political campaign and constitutional concerns. Clinton obviously delivered the speech in English to his Masonic lodge. The signs changed from English to Spanish, but the underlying discourse is the same. Craig and Mary L. Hanyan provided the specifics of the dramatization involved in Clinton's campaign in their book *DeWitt Clinton and the Rise of the People's Men*.

They offered a thorough study of the first popular reform movement in the American republic. DeWitt Clinton was the political heir apparent when the People's Party elected the Senate and assembly in New York, the nation's most populous state in 1824. That book detailed the special political culture of the movement and the second-party system to develop later as Whigs and Democrats. The main thrust of the People's Movement was not just to inflate American democratic political ideals, but specifically to encourage a rejection of taxation on personal property or estate and stocks (preface).

Part of his campaign involved a carefully staged reenactment of La Fayette's revolutionary glory providing an opportunity to capitalize on revolutionary military heritage as the state of New York dealt with setting up political rules based on the state's new constitution. Part of the reading of *La Fayette* is that same reflection of the nation family welcoming home a loving and loved parent with a military backdrop that La Fayette's visit provided. *Riego* and *La Fayette* reflect that same romantic desire to identify with a heroic military man, taking advantage of the stage for political reasons. A kind of universal romantic political ideology preceded the actual time period of Spanish Literary

²³ Mexía's *Encíclica* ends on page 42 and the pages of De Witt Clinton's speech continue consecutively.

Romanticism as a movement in Spain. Both dramas reflect ideological romantic elements reflective of an elusive, sentimental dramatic genre. The following two chapters are open critical readings of *Riego* and *La Fayette*, focusing on time and historical characterization as basic elements of dramatic plot composition.

Censorship in his home country had already established Mexía's linguistic space in Spain with his unsigned allegorical news account writing style as a means of protest to the King's abuse of power. Accustomed to hiding his personal comments, Mexía continued to allegorize in the United States. The dramatic space for Mexía's New World identity was in the dramatic narrators he created in his own likeness, Félix in *Riego* and Custis in *La Fayette*.

Reviewing his *Enciclica* and similar New World essays, supporting the need for printed backup to protect liberties, revealed a common language of constitutional resistance to tyranny in both New Spain and old. Although time is the most crucial element to be considered, a historical approach based on Hayden White's notion of authority provides consideration of identity and society as well (*Content* 16). *Riego* provides the backdrop for the Spanish Triennium. The drama, published three years after the actual arrest of Riego, is a historical set for Riego's martyrdom and Mexía's political allegory related to Mexican politics in a neoclassic historical tragedy. *La Fayette* repeats the use of Mexía as a dramatic persona and an allegorized female political constitution in a theatrical version of La Fayette's real life visit to the United States.

Chapter 3

The Political Allegory in the Historical Tragedy *Riego*

The historical tragedy *Riego*, authored by Mexía and published in Philadelphia, provided evidence of Mexía's allegorical artistry. Illuminated by the pattern set up in this historical tragedy, the political allegory in *La Fayette* became more apparent. *Riego* permitted the real life journalist Mexía to play a military role, in remembrance of his martyred military co-editor Morales, opposite the protagonist, the guerrilla fighter Riego. That heroic exile space allowed for dialogue between an allegorically dead, exiled journalist (Mexía) as Lieutenant Colonel Félix, the character who is imprisoned with Riego, and a real dead hero, Riego. Other characters take on larger-than-life roles as the Spanish Constitution of 1812, the Inquisition, and the Spanish judiciary system.

The sonnet at the end of *Riego* reveals the special religious and political significance of Mexía's dedication of this play to Guadalupe Victoria, Mexico's first president. The importance of this historical tragedy is also related to the role newspapers played in Spain and New Spain in the circumvention of ecclesiastical censorship boards. *El Zurriago* in Spain served the same role as the *Diario de cortes*, which Spanish citizens in New Spain read avidly despite the New World provincial censorship boards (Benson 98). Mexía's use of a pseudonym reinforces that significance of *Riego*. The real life Félix was clearly hiding behind the character Lieutenant Colonel Félix to conceal his identity. This researcher has no hard evidence to show the play was ever staged, but stage directions are present suggesting a Mexican or United States performance. *Riego* has an unsigned advisory to the readers, placed before the drama, of the author's concern that the

tragedy is full of defects because of the pressing necessity to publish. This advisory also underscores the use of *Riego* as a live newscast.

The play takes place in Riego's house, the King's palace, and in the prison. Action begins at noon and ends at the same time the next day. While *Riego* follows classic Platonic twenty-four hour theatre rules, it stretches the limits from three acts to five and the single place of action to three. The final act details the hero Riego leaving for the chapel before his execution. The five brief acts, evenly-balanced at about ten pages each, deal with only one apparent intrigue following basic, but not rigid neoclassic precepts. The rhyme scheme is a *romance heroico*, with assonant rhyme in even verses, following neoclassic preference. The characters speak in an elevated tone to maintain the decorum necessary to establish their station. The King's followers and conspiracy members outnumber the righteous element that includes: Riego, the about-to-be-martyred hero, his wife Teresa as the Constitution, servant María, Félix as the dramatized narrator, and Pablo as Riego's defender who would not sell out to a corrupt judiciary system.

The characters respond to certain codes of meaning when one considers the sonnet at the end of the drama with a dedicatory to a particular reader, Guadalupe Victoria, the first president of Mexico. Most of the characters in *Riego* represent real historical figures and the tragedy portrays an actual event. The overt dramatic triangle details the imprisonment and trial of General Rafael de Riego y Nuñez that resulted in his martyrdom in 1823 and calls to mind the rebellion he led.

The association to New Spain politics was the story of the troops garrisoned in Andalucía to be sent to the New World. Those soldiers were not necessarily in favor of the Constitution of 1812. The army followed Riego to escape the war in America (Woodward 605). An apathetic Spanish public would not appreciate their deaths in the far off romantic Americas. Another relationship to New Spain was that Riego's uprising led to the reestablishment of the Spanish *Cortes* in both worlds in 1820 by Ferdinand VII, in a sham support of the Constitution.

The cast includes the martyred Spanish general, Rafael del Riego, Doña Teresa his wife, María her servant, Ferdinand VII the tyrant, the Infante Don Carlos his brother, the government official Don Dámaso, Don Domingo Inquisition, Don Cosme the governor from *Cortes*, and Don Pablo, entrusted with Riego's case. Others are Don Julián, court clerk, Don Ancelmo, a police spy, Don Benito, the judicial representative from the palace, and most important to Félix Mexía, Don Antonio, who transcribed the case. This last character was actually Don Antonio Alcalá Galiano, the politician, military man, writer and critic who was an active participant in the antiabsolutist uprising in Cabezas de San Juan led by Riego. Espousing the liberal cause, he also went into exile. Roberto is the legal representative in the jail and there are a variety of non-speaking parts for other court officials. A French official and soldiers, Spanish constables and other gatekeepers fill out the list of characters (4). The most important character for the journalist playwright was surely Lieutenant Colonel Don Félix, friend of Riego, who spoke for the author himself.

This open reading follows the stratified path from the straight chronological tragedy and corresponding historical details to the political allegory revealed in more formal aspects. Burrowing through the historical/political/literary layers requires a critical approach beyond structuralism. Dealing with the historic minutiae behind this drama involves time in a symbolic poetic space. The *Carta*, including the epistolary poem with detailed footnotes by Morales, and the larger texts of history contribute the necessary details. Historiography provides a post structural method for deploying the two critical theories, identity in exile and Romanticism as a movement versus romantic political sentiment and characterization. Historiography permits time elements outside of the drama to enter into the open critical reading.

Historiography as the Basis for Allegorizing and Open Reading

The historiographer Hayden White admirably followed in the footsteps of Northrop Frye, who in *Anatomy of Criticism* provided literary critics with a systematic way to approach literature based on Aristotle's *Poetics*. Myth criticism did not thoroughly address time though as it relates to the referential context of

history, although Frye provided an invaluable tool for breaking open Latin American Magical Realism. Hayden White offered an alternative for addressing the referent in structuralist narratology in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Working with the connection between historiography and literature, White noted the need to view every historical narrative as allegorical, as opposed to mythic or ideological (45). That involved a process that Adams identified as endemic to literary criticism (602). White allowed for a tripartite differentiation: the actual chronological history of events, the explanation for those events, and the symbolic portrayal of such in a historical narrative (45). In the dramas reviewed in this study, the historical narrative is, in fact, a theatrical representation of newspaper style narrative through the “allegoresis” described by White. The resulting story in *Riego* is a “farce,” according to the literary code set up by White (47), about the liberal uprising that led to the Spanish Triennium, the Constitutional monarchal period in Spain.

White commented on the difference between exemplary and inferior historiography, basing his distinction on the use of “rules of evidence, the relative fullness of narrative detail, and logical consistency” (406). That critic mentioned the contentious nature of past events inherent in any consideration of possible poetic pattern. White takes issue with the theory that fiction is what is imagined and history is what actually happened. According to White, it is much more complicated than this rather naïve conception. It does not matter whether we are dealing with a real or imagined state of affairs. What is important is the method we use to understand the circumstances. There is a certain fiction in all so-called unbiased history. It is impossible to remain completely objective and scientific because of underlying ideological beliefs (407). Analyzing the imagery in literary texts is more than an academic endeavor for White.

Riego and *La Fayette* are dramas within a male hegemonic world replete with Biblical and classical epic allusions. The importance of classic imagery in literary texts is still quite viable. White employed a set of Greek words that make up the literary category of imagery (allegory, simile, metaphor, symbol, metonymy, synecdoche, parable/fable and irony) to reveal the fictitious in all

historical narrative (407). Both of the dramas in this study provide politically charged allegory under the basic news coverage of the Spanish tragedy and La Fayette's trip to the United States.

Lafayette en Monte Vernon was a news report with a poetic political allegory allowing for Mexía and his compatriots to bask in the glory of the United States Founding Father George Washington, adopted revolutionary son La Fayette and the United States Constitution. *Riego* refers back to Peninsular Spanish politics calling to mind the mutiny of the troops who refused to go to the Americas. The troops chose to support Riego against the French, and their own king, Ferdinand VII, ultimately betrayed them. Benigno Morales's poem in the *Carta* is a poetic reference to the circumstances that resulted in the uprising of those troops under Riego who proposed to restore the Constitution of 1812.

Riego details the final moments of Riego's imprisonment before his execution. The additional force of refiguring those political happenings in a uniquely New World setting is also present. The allegorical presentation in this play is similar to that of *Lafayette en Monte Vernon*. In *Riego*, instead of just a single dedication in the frontispiece, we find several. First, an advisory to the readers tells them that the author acknowledges the drama's faults. Then, he excuses those defects due to his desire to produce the drama as quickly as possible after hearing of Riego's death in the "United States of America," where the author found himself "proscrito y perseguido con encarnizamiento" 'exiled and savagely pursued' by the tyrant of Spain Ferdinand VII "y sus viles partidarios" 'and his vile supporters'(5). Next is a dedication to Simón Bolívar, and finally, to the president of the Mexican states; the latter, in the form of a dedicatory sonnet from the editor, follows the drama. Signed by Juan José Manuel Ximénez del Río on February 28, 1825, that obliging dedication went to Guadalupe Victoria as Mexico's "virtuous first citizen"(56).

There is an interesting interplay between the words of the *Carta* that include Morales' *romance heroico*, the footnoted documentation following Morales's poem, and the drama about *Riego*. The dedicatory sonnet, along with the theatrical work in Philadelphia, is another integral part to the allegorical

reading of this drama. White spoke to a “transcodation” in which chronicled events become transformed into a special literary code. White says it is neither fact nor logic that allows for this type of projection, but rather a “displacement of the facts onto the ground of literary fictions (47). But what are the facts? I would refer back to Santi’s “gossip of the masses.” Locating the allegorical code makes us question what historical truth is because that reality does not necessarily answer how the facts involved were created. Eco’s history of freemasonry, commented earlier, is a prime example.

The Literary and Political Environment of the Spanish Triennium

It was after Fernando swore to uphold the Constitution that the liberal political press, both *exaltados* and *moderados*, experienced resurgence. The three years of the Liberal Triennium are those of the most politicized writings. According to Mesonero Romanos, the literary market was flooded with foreign translations the absolutists prohibited before the liberal government took over (Seoane 119). Some of the existing newspapers, including the *Crónica Científica y Literaria*, even went so far as to switch to only politics. Alcalá Galiano said the aforementioned periodical changed to *El Constitucional* in order to draw more readers (120). The mixture of writings in *El Zurriago* revealed its market niche. The distinctly unliterary style included local political gossip rather than erudite doctrinal essays, maxims, and proverbs in place of cultured poetry and a variety of politically inspired poetry and satirical dramas.

It was not even necessary to buy those newspapers since they could be read where posted or in the cafés for a small fee. *El Zurriago* quoted as ten thousand the increased readership for its newspaper, a sum that Alcalá Galiano questioned, suggesting a more likely one thousand five hundred (123). Lily Litvak cited the latter years of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century in Spain as the high point for the production of libertarian periodicals (96). That held true for the New World as well since the communication web for the anarchists of those days relied on those kinds of periodicals. It is important to keep in mind the early date of *El Zurriago* as an initiator of a newspaper style that

would later be employed as an alternative to mainstream or bourgeois capitalist writings in Marxist terms.

The contrast of the quote from *El Zurriago* compared to that of Alcalá Galiano brings up communication issues as well as historical juggernauts. The very nature of the political satire that Mexía and Morales produced for *El Zurriago* involved exaggeration and, if not downright lying, then a certain amount of deception. Litvak spoke to the doctrinal esthetic of the later libertarian newspapers, which by their diverse headlines, repetition, slogans, politicized essays, and engravings served a very specific propagandistic function (99). This type of embellishment or difference of opinion takes us back to the point made at the beginning: what you are reading in this critique is possibly only “historical fiction”.

That term, in itself an oxymoron, was the term used to advertise the made-for-television “Sally Hemmings: An American Scandal”, based on Fawn Brodie’s book *Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History*, after the movie *Jefferson in Paris*. The co-executive producer Tina Andrews spoke of “connecting the dots to the information” to make a script that would work for everybody” (*Houston Chronicle* 2/13/00). It could not have been used for Dan Brown’s popular novel *The Da Vinci Code* since all of the fictional representations (more writing, video and film, tours and souvenirs) that followed are all fiction based on fiction. His two major resources were *The Hunchback of Notre Dame* by Victor Hugo and *Leonardo da Vinci* by Leonardo da Vinci. Barring this example, history abounds with scripts of one generation misrepresenting the generation before or one group abusing the rights of other groups. Historical markers and museums provide only an overview of a particular historical moment, while newspapers offer local and personal insight, but have their own political bias. There is still the difficulty of cultural and societal differences regarding truth and falsehood wrapped up in dissecting Mexía’s ostensibly direct historical tragedy about Riego.

Returning to the footnotes, in general the moderates were doceañistas (1812) who had suffered the persecution and suffering of six years of jail or exile. As sons of the Enlightenment, having learned tolerance, they desired social

reforms, while the *exaltados* were *veintenos* (1820), generally younger and not in favor of moderation (Seoane 129). According to Seoane, their goals were not political and more in tune with the *afrancesados*. Lloréns said they were primarily lawyers, orators, “segundones” ‘second sons’, and military men of action. They based their doctrines on texts from Alfonso the Wise to Montesquieu while the *exaltados* preferred Machiavelli (74). They had learned a different lesson preparing the second assault on absolutism with constitutionalism. Seoane said their interpretation was one of no holds barred against the enemies of the new regime, of planning or preventing dangers inherent in a campaign, or not having been strong enough in their defense of new institutions. The prudence not to irritate too much those in power, of moving forward slowly as the country learned to accept the new reforms learned by the older faction, was standard operating procedure for the earlier liberals. The younger liberals historically interpreted this plan as the need to act energetically and quickly, cutting off the reaction before it had a chance to begin (130).

El Zurriago accused another short-lived newspaper, *El Censor*, of being a sell-out to the French “ultras” (135). Alcalá Galiano made note that the publishers of that periodical were especially interested in theater, defending neoclassicism to the end, rejecting the notion that the new French dramas be accepted alongside the Spanish as anarchy. “El buen gusto” ‘good taste’ and morality were the guidelines for dramatic excellence, Seoane said (133). Seoane also made mention of another newspaper, *La Colmena* (*The Beehive*), published from March to June 14, 1820, as the work of Félix Mexía.²⁴ It was moderate with respect to the *afrancesados* and politics as she quotes a series of opposites:

...la marcha del gobierno no debe parar un instante, pero su movimiento no debe ser muy lento ni muy vivo. El pueblo tiene

²⁴ Hartzenbusch also mentions his prior publication according to Seoane in *Apuntes para un catálogo de periódicos madrileños desde el año 1861 a 1970*, Madrid, 1894. Alcalá Galiano also attributes *La Periodicomania* that according to Mesonero was by Francisco Camborda. Seoane feels they probably collaborated together (143).

siempre o mucha acción o muy poca. Algunas veces o mil brazos lo destroza todo y otras con cien mil pies camina como los insectos ...the march of government should never stop, not even for an instant, but the movement should neither be slow nor very lively. The nation has either a great deal of action or very little. Sometimes a thousand arms destroy everything and other times one hundred thousand feet move like insects (139).

She also acknowledged a change of stance to a more *exaltado* position in *El Zurriago*. The anticlerical writings in the section <<*Picotazos*>>(*Pecks as in blow with the beak*) of *La Colmena* seem more in keeping with the satirical style displayed later in the other newspaper, the author maintained. One example was a short story of the sterile Doña Tomasa who managed to have a child after receiving friars in her home. God answered the prayers of the thankful woman and her husband. Another story told of a priest who chose two twenty-year-old housekeepers instead of one forty-year-old one. Seoane also cited a spirit of revenge not at all moderate in publication number eleven in April, which lists liberal abuses of the six years prior to 1820 (139).

Act I *Riego* and Teresa as the Constitution of 1812

Act I begins in *Riego's* house. The stage directions specify it as "not furnished luxuriously" (7). With these words that could today translate to the cliché *poor, but proud*, the heroine's home becomes everyman's home. The stage directions are important as rhetorical components, as the number of exclamation marks in the text reveal. Besides the punctuation in the script, the emotive instructions graphically describe the sentiment to be portrayed: "enternecida, reclina y cae en el sofá, se levanta con súbito rapto de furia, afligida" 'tenderly reclines and falls on the sofa, gets up suddenly (in a) fit of fury, upset' (8). Teresa laments to her servant María the imminent death of her husband and announces her desire to accompany him to his grave. In a furious tirade, she attacks God for not reacting to the plight of his miserable humans reduced to the terrible condition of slaves ruled by despots (8). Just before fainting, she mourns the rights of mankind in the hands of a few hundred individuals who arbitrarily control their

future with superstition and fanaticism, with the country itself divided. (9). Félix enters the scene at this point and tells Teresa nothing is to be gained with histrionics. They rush to see the King hoping to save Riego's life, although Teresa swears she will never prostrate herself to beg for clemency. Félix reminds her that the circumstances allow anything, thus speaking to the right to revolt. Teresa asks not for a pardon, but justice for her husband who protected and served his king against a population inflamed against the King's injustice (10). Félix suggests she prostrate herself at his feet and beg, which she refuses. Teresa repeats that she will join her husband in martyrdom (11).

With no acknowledgement of a change of scene, Domingo, Julián, and the constables enter. Domingo Inquisition insults Félix, who draws his sword and attacks him. Domingo Inquisition orders them to shoot and they wound Félix (11). Domingo Inquisition orders an inventory of Riego's household possessions to be taken. Teresa says they can have everything; since they will take her husband's life, nothing else matters to her (12).

Again with no acknowledgement of change of scene, we are at the palace in the presence of the King and his brother, the Infante Don Carlos (Infante means "any son of the king of Spain other than the heir apparent") The latter gloats at destroying the hordes of infamous Jacobean who made the law. "El reino entero a tu capricho se halla sometido; Ha perdido la vida en los calabozos una gran parte de tus enemigos. Otros peregrinando en reino extraño sin patria y sin hogar, buscando asilo..." 'The entire kingdom finds itself under your capricious whims; A great many of your enemies have lost their lives in jail' (12). Fernando admits to Carlos his role as executioner to his countrymen, his cruelty, and inhuman vengeance. At the same time he trembles to think of the Spaniards sharpening their swords to kill him. The infante tells him he is on course consolidating his power, and to have no pity. The king compares himself to Nero (13).

Still at the palace, Benito and Pablo enter and the King asks when Riego will be hanged. When Pablo replies they are still considering his case, the King insists that court be held in the same jail cell and the prisoner sentenced

immediately. Pablo delivers a monologue decrying the actions of Ferdinand VII as unjust and unlawful:

El furor, la venganza, las pasiones
 Todas del poderoso del magnate y rico
 Pueden más que la ley y la justicia
 Donde un tirano impera. ¡Que conflicto
 Para un juez sentenciar de un inocente!
 ¡prescindir de los trámites prescriptos
 para la ordenación de los procesos!
 The furor, the vengeance, the passions
 All belong to the powerful, the magnate, the rich
 They can do more than law or justice
 Where a tyrant prevails. What conflict! (15)

Pablo recognizes that if he goes against the Monarch he will lose, not only his fortune, but also his life, as well as the lives of his wife and children. Worse, he acknowledges that Riego will still die. Although he cannot save Riego, he says he will try to delay the case, and at least not be the sentencing judge.

Teresa as the Constitution of 1812

Riego and *La Fayette* are not colonial texts, nor Third World texts, but they are involved with national allegory in their portrayal of the Spanish Constitution of 1812. That Mexía would choose to assign his national allegory to a natural rights interpretation of a female political constitution is a romantic construct. The idealization of women was a common Romantic literary thread especially in relation to nature (García Sánchez 115). García Sánchez noted that Larra the political satirist had a secret intimate Romantic side to his personality that revealed itself in his depiction of his heroine Elvira in his narrative work *El doncel de don Enrique el Doliente* (*The King's Page of Sir Henry the Sorrowful*), as well as the dramatic interpretation based on that work, *Macías* (115). That critic found her to be an attractive combination of carnal woman in an idealized state (115). The Constitution of 1812 as the wife of the hero Riego, who defended her honor and died for that honor, would certainly qualify at least as a romantic

theme along the same lines. Teresa as Riego's historic wife takes on larger than life qualities in her idealization as that historic document for which so many patriots died.

Riego tells the story of the "Héroe de las Cabezas", Rafael del Riego y Nuñez, a lieutenant colonel that became a general, and led the Spanish uprising in 1820 upholding the Constitution of 1812. Executed in 1823 among 112 executions in eighteen days in Madrid, his name recalls the historical moment of the reentry into Spain of the "rey deseado" 'desired king' (Bergamini 179). Much was made in the nineteenth-century liberal newspapers of this play on the desired one being seduced, as well as the capacity of liberty to seduce patriots. The intentional political discourse revealed in political allegory is made up of the seductive words of revolution. The symbolic value of our very own Statue of Liberty or the scales of justice in any courtroom held by a female continue to show the erotic power of these concepts.

The erotic hypnotism of the political oratory of the *Cortes* of nineteenth century Cádiz reflected in the political newspapers of those days was apparent by the papers' widespread popularity. The "tertulias de café" 'gatherings to discuss literature or the other arts' had changed to liberal patriotic societies and Seoane quoted Alcalá Galiano that the moment had arrived to "descorrer el velo" 'remove the veil' and speak directly, no longer in symbolic language. He recalled speaking to the audience's passions, exciting in them the horrors of the trip to America and a thirst for glory by physically swearing their allegiance to defeat tyranny on a phallic sword (151).

The description of the Sociedad Landaburiana where Mexía spoke was sufficiently revealing of the seductive value placed on certain concepts. The inscription above the cenotaph read "la soberanía reside esencialmente en la nación" 'in essence sovereignty resides in the nation' (159). This idea was repeated in Mexía's *Encíclica*. Other important articles of the Constitution hung on the walls along with the mottoes "firmeza y valor" and "libertad y unión". The tribunal was in the form of a pulpit. In the front there was another wall hanging, "Constitución "o muerte" 'or death' and there a military band usually played for

the soldiers (159). In the end the goal was for the patriot to lust for liberty enough to die for his figurative damsel, the Constitution. As Seoane pointed out, if all else failed in their patriotic discussions, they could resort to classic Hispanic insults such as “liberal y cornudo es todo uno” ‘liberal and cuckolded is one and the same’ or that the “ninfas” ‘nymphs’ of Cádiz “aunque no despensen su gracia gratis se llaman y deben llamarse liberales” ‘although they do not dispense their wares free are called and should be called liberals’ (43). Those quotes were assigned to “el filósofo rancio” ‘the rancid philosopher’ by Seoane, and could have been the Cuban José Alvarez de Toledo, who was a delegate to *Cortes* for the island of Santo Domingo (Colón 23). Liberalism as a concept was definitely heady stuff for the young Spanish soldiers fighting against Napoleon Bonaparte, as well as for the representatives to *Cortes*.

Political communication is by its very nature a desire to mold public opinion through private discourse. The Constitution was portrayed as female among the liberals and moderates in a like manner. Some chose to view her as an “hija de mucha parte de sus antiguas leyes” ‘daughter of many old laws’ (Zavala 24); others like Mexía chose to embody that sacred document in the form of a wife. Teresa, Riego’s wife became the apotheosis of the covenant implied in marriage. The Zurriaguistas had said their job was to catalogue the political ills of their society in an interesting comparison to the marriage proposition:

...el que no sea para casado que no engañe a la mujer: y el que no se considere con la aptitud y suficiencia necesaria para cumplir los deberes de su destino, con la buena fe y energía que es menester para obrar en beneficio del sistema sin guardar respetos y consideraciones, que lo deje en manos más hábiles, o más íntegras ...he that was not made for marriage let him not deceive woman and he that does not have the aptitude and self satisfaction to meet the responsibilities of his destiny with the necessary good faith and energy for the good of the system without respect and consideration, leave it in more able or upright hands (*El Zurriago* 29:3)

Along the same lines of seduction Mexía said he was a “amante del bien americano” ‘lover of American well-being’(55), and the spy Ancelmo was imprisoned for being an “amante de la Constitución” (28). Riego spoke of the “santo fuego” ‘saintly fire’ that burned within him. In his union with the Constitution, he fulfilled his father’s desire that he become the sacrificial lamb in the “instante deseado” ‘desired moment’ (30). As a true patriot, he disapproved of an escape plan and told Félix he lusted for the people to respond as one unit (42). Teresa proposed to accompany her martyr husband to his grave (8). When Félix (in the drama as a fictional character and as the dramatist’s own political commentary) suggested to Riego’s wife that she beg for his life, her pride would not consent to that. Félix was speaking to circumstances that allow for anything, obviously even the right to revolt.

Addressing the history of allegory as a temporal rhetorical device, and its relationship to *Riego* and *La Fayette*, logically led to another schematic political allegory presented by Mexía. By applying the Marxist maxim to historicize, this researcher confronted a truly powerful interpretation beyond a rather standard formal/structural critique. Reading this drama about the nineteenth-century Spanish guerrilla fighter Riego through Félix Mexía’s own *Encíclica*, along with the one hundred forty-two page epistolary poem from his coeditor Benigno Morales, allowed for the political reflections hidden in his historical drama to come alive with his own political identity. Mexía’s dramas serve as mirrors of a particularly theatrical political moment lived in Spanish, Mexican, and United States politics. The tie that binds political campaign themes in these three distinct national identities is a messianic notion of political martyrs. The *Carta* serves as a personal poetic reference for Mexía’s dead coeditor’s viewpoint of the historical situation in early nineteenth-century Spain. The sonnet at the end of the drama becomes a news account of Mexican politics.

Enrico Mario Santí in a lecture at Rice University brought up an important point regarding national allegory. In addressing *Pedro Páramo* by Juan Rulfo and *Los recuerdos del porvenir* by Elena Garro, he presented a grapevine model of communal discourse. As applied to the two Mexican novels in his presentation,

the model he offered should prove valuable when applied in the explanation of other Hispanic works recovered in the United States. The importance of analogy is highlighted by the use of the gossip of the masses for “the murmers” in *Pedro Páramo*.

Background from the *Carta*

In the dramas under consideration, the whispering voices of the past do not come from the lyrical voices of suffering souls in a novelistic tone poem, but from a poem of rather epic proportions outside of the dramatic texts themselves. Morales provided the voice of a young man from Córdoba about to die in Almería. This researcher considered the possibility that Félix Mexía penned the heroic poem himself in honor of his young coeditor, then he published it in Philadelphia. Such an assumption would have called into question Mexía’s own veracity, for he said he was publishing the letter just as his friend penned it in prison, where he was about to be put to death. Mexía also attested to publication of the letter, exactly as Morales sent it to him, with no corrections, changes, or additions (4). The list of names on the final page of the *Carta* lends credence to a testimonial written by Benigno Morales himself while imprisoned, as he wrote in the *Carta* (172). After considering guilt for his partner’s death as a motive, a review of the actual *Zurriago* became necessary. Also, comments about that young poet’s style caused this researcher to come to the conclusion of Morales’ authorship. Mexía’s desire was to allow his coeditor’s written words to take life again in Philadelphia through his characters’ actions. Reliving Riego’s final moments as a fictional friend also provided an opportunity to speak to his real friend’s death as a political martyr. Glorifying Riego glorified all heroes including Benigno Morales.

Reading the two dramas reviewed in this study, employing the background provided by the *Carta* along with other historical information allows the true nature of these theatrical works to surface. The tale of the Spanish Triennium with the trials and tribulations of the two editors in the *Carta* take the form of a *romance*. That Morales’s verse might qualify as a Spanish ballad takes on special significance since the romance was one of the most important genres in the

literary search for a utopian society. In the Spanish Middle Ages the “juglares” ‘minstrels’ sang in the public plazas as well as in the palaces. Towards the end of the Middle Ages people only wanted to hear their favorite part of the ballad in question. The appearance of the *romance* in response to public demand represented an evolution of social conscience and certainly the faculties of memory and composition of the *juglares* themselves. In a populist sense, the words of political ditties like *El trágala* (Swallow it) and other patriotic songs represent the same kind of tradition.

In the tradition of those populist *romances*, the historical dramas studied in this work are boldly symbolic in their portrayal of political events. Besides the importance of the theatrical public because they are political works, the reader must necessarily hold them up to the light of the times. Morales’s footnoted poem in the *Carta* and *El Zurriago* were no more than newspaper political gossip columns with intercalated literary works to critics like Alcalá Galiano, but they do help explain the two dramatic allegories. Other historical and political works also speak to the secret conspiracy that is the driving action in *Riego*. These two theatrical presentations were obviously penned for specific political purposes. The importance of considering periodical production in the form of newspapers, letters, chronicles, and other written and oral sources outside of the text to be interpreted has already been highlighted by the estimable work done in revising colonial literature.

This political allegory finds its base in the allegorical models employed in the satirical portrayal of different imaginary governments in *El Zurriago*. *El Zurriago* began its first issue with an allegory on an imaginary Chinese government exposing the mistakes of the Spanish government in a “colección de milagros políticos de los mandarines de la China” ‘collection of political miracles of the Chinese Mandarins’ (1:2). Now in a New World setting, after the death of his coeditor, Morales, Mexía the man takes on a new identity in exile: Félix the dramatic military man in *Riego*, to play out the real life tragedy of Riego’s arrest and trial.

Another satirical anecdote in *El Zurriago* told of the great Cosme of the Florentine Medicis who found a letter from the secret society of the Sybarites. That apocryphal letter surely satirized the real “páginas secretas” ‘secret pages’ referred to in the *Carta* (156), acknowledged in another edition of *El Zurriago* (79-80), and referred to in Act V of *Riego*. The character Félix reveals his knowledge of documents that detailed the King and others’ involvement in his arrest. The real life Mexía speaks through this character to rebuke the real life protagonist and fictional character Riego for not speaking out against those who plotted against him. The spoils and rewards system under Ferdinand VII, provided recompense for those brothers who remained loyal to him even when he later about-faced and betrayed them as he did with Riego:

Un hermano de mi columna pide empleo...es que hay otros hermanos tal vez con más méritos que apetecerán este destino...el hermano pretendiente desea ser preferido a los demás ...en tiempo de guerra el que pillá, pillá

A brother in my squad asks for employment...there are other brothers of perhaps more merit that would seek this destiny...the applicant wants preference among other applicants...in times of war he who steals, steals (sic 35:50)

The Spanish liberals as schematically reflected in *Riego* lose their real life identities to abstract concepts. Rubio Jiménez noted the development of this type of historical drama as a reaction to successively rapid changes in European society. *Riego* follows the fixed neoclassical tradition of a five-act tragedy. Rubio Jiménez said the entire nineteenth century was a declining succession of those types of dramas as well as historical comedies and costumbrista works (24). Jiménez quoted Hauser concerning the use of the stage as a layman’s pulpit and tribunal, an exploitation that renounced the idea of Kant’s disinterested artistic endeavor. Hauser described the propagandistic functionality of nineteenth-century theater as a tendency of an epoch firmly convinced of the importance of educating and perfecting the masses (9).

It is almost impossible to deal with interpreting an early nineteenth-century Hispanic dramatic text without consideration of both political and military activity as well as of religious doctrine, given the position of the Roman Catholic Church. Another important area to consider is the importance of the Spanish *Cortes*, not only in Spain, but also in Mexican political history as a rejection of the religious colonial power vested in the Inquisition as well as the military. Morales included an impressive inventory with exact numbers of Inquisitorial abuses in the *Carta* to support the actual reinstatement of Inquisitorial police (81).

Act II *Riego* and the Spy Anselmo

Act II takes place in the salon of the palace with Secretary of State Dámaso standing by the seated king next to a table, according to the stage directions (17). Dámaso recommends a judicial decree of amnesty, but the King refuses to consider the option, even when Dámaso reminds him he is speaking of many patriots who actually believed he would live up to his royal word. In the end Fernando threatens him as well, with “si faltaras...con tu cabeza me responderías” ‘if you fail me...you will answer with your head’(18). He orders the establishment of a special state police and tribunals to judge the Liberals and their families. He commands that all who served in the militias be banished from Spain except the liberal *exaltados* for whom there was to be no mercy. Not only must they die, but he insists while passing a list to Dámaso, they die in secret because, “...existían en la corporación de *comuneros*...” ‘they lived in the company of commoners ‘the first patriots to rise against Spanish rule according to some’(18). He tells him, “...la ley del tormento está vigente, y caducó la que la proscribía” ‘the law of torture is in force and the law that prevented it expired’ (18). This quote was a direct reference to the Spanish law of April 11, 1821, that provided for military trials for conspirators (Robertson 207).

Then he mentions the need for a spy in order to proceed with his plans to rid the land of those liberals who deluded the ignorant people with their fabulous stories and false theories. The character *Rey*, as the real, despicable Ferdinand VII, becomes a melodramatic villain, making the following remarks regarding

actual circumstances of the nineteenth century in relationship to the New World revolutions:

Acabad de concluir esos tratados
 Que están pendientes en la Santa Liga
 Respecto al continente americano
 Yo cederé a los reyes cuánto pidan
 Como me ayuden a llevar la guerra
 Y la desolación a esas provincias
 Que gritan libertad e independencia
 Finish the treaties that are pending in the
 Holy Alliance with respect to the American
 Continent. I will allow the kings to have whatever
 They ask for and the desolation of those provinces
 That cry liberty and independence (19)

The King says he will not rest until Riego is put to death. With stage directions only, we find ourselves in the makeshift prison courtroom where Pablo and Roberto are speaking. Pablo asks the “alcalde” ‘mayor or justice of the peace’ if they can use the small cell in the mine. The conversation that follows is one telling the chilling truth of the reestablishment of the Inquisition. Pablo asks not only if the doors and locks are ready, but also to make sure the shackles and chains are of heavy weight. The prisoner is to receive only bread and water; no one is concerned with how much the cell leaks. After Pablo sends Roberto to make sure all is in order, he launches into a long monologue in which he reads the King’s graphic orders to torture Riego to death (all included in quotation marks) to emphasize the historicity of his words (sic 21).

Pablo reads the orders that include the King’s guarantee that if his edict is not followed, the judge will respond with his life. He compares the brutal treatment demanded by the King to Nero and Attila. Acknowledging he would give up his position, Pablo says that would not help Riego in the end (21).

Riego arrives in his general’s uniform--without a hat and with bound arms-- accompanied by French soldiers with the magistrate, the court clerk,

Roberto and the constables (21). There is a special significance of Riego arriving hatless since the cap was symbolic of a liberal *exaltado*. The liberty cap was used by the French revolutionists and also served as a symbol of liberty in the United States before 1800. "The French cap was patterned after the forward-slanting cap from Phrygia presented to Roman slaves upon manumission" (*Encarta 98* "cap of liberty"). This common symbol of liberty was important enough to be included on the arch erected in New Orleans to greet Lafayette when he arrived there on April 5, 1825 (Fossier 495).

Domingo Inquisition tells Pablo what a terrible choice they have made to enforce such a law then departs. The prisoner tells Pablo he is "...dueño de un tesoro todavía que nunca gozarán mis enemigos..." '...still owner of a treasure that my enemies will never enjoy...' which is "...una conciencia pura y limpia, una reputación que no se mancha con detestables cábalas e intrigas" 'a pure clean conscience, a reputation unstained by detestable cabalas and intrigues' (22). Precisely announcing the conspiracy of the *anilleros*, Riego is calm as he speaks of the lack of justice that in the ages to come will make his death worthwhile. He announces he will never succumb to tyranny:

...jamás sucumbiré a la tiranía
 seré por siempre libre...independiente..."
 Never will I give in to tyranny
 I will be forever free...independent...
 Y quiera el cielo que mi sangre sirva
 para evitar a tantos patriotas...
 ¡Haced...haced buen Dios que decidida
 corra a las armas la nación en masa
 para cobrar la libertad perdida!
 ...And by heaven will my blood serve
 To avoid such an end for so many patriots...
 Good God make the nation decide
 To answer the call to arms in mass
 To recover liberty lost! (22-23).

Upon hearing these words and seeing Riego unable to stand, Pablo swears he will not allow his gray hair to be stained with such iniquity and remorse by sacrificing an innocent man. He decides not to sign Riego's sentence. Ancelmo enters and from Pablo's words we understand he is to serve as the spy. The spy's name recalls Saint Anselm. That famous theological philosopher reflected the teachings of St. Augustine, questioned by Thomas Aquinas and Kant. Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz offered a philosophy similar to Saint Anselm's doctrine, known in the eighteenth century as the "ontological argument." Anselm was an exile in Italy leading the difficult life that entails. Politically important as the Archbishop of Canterbury, after problems with King Henry I of England, Saint Anselm provided a way for church and temporal powers to compromise regarding investiture. Since the church had the right to elect bishops, their clergy would invest them by ring and staff. The emperor would provide political control of revenue, land, and goods with a scepter devoid of religious connotation. The problem was never completely resolved during the Middle Ages and continued to be a problem throughout the seventeenth century.

In one of Saint Anselm's theological speculations he studied incarnation and the Crucifixion. Related to the idea of seduction so prevalent in all of the writings about Ferdinand VII, who was seduced by absolute power, is the problem of priests and their concubines in his day. There is the possibility to see Ancelmo as reflecting this practice by the clergy of buying and selling church offices and keeping women as concubines. Next to Riego's saintly fire consecrated properly by his marriage to the Constitution, Ancelmo only gave lip service. Although Ancelmo tells Riego he is a lover of the Constitution, he obviously does not affirm that love, but rather other concerns seduce him.

There is inherent in the depiction of Riego and his wife the idea of marriage as a legal arrangement traditionally of the highest public status. Even Aristotle referred to marriage as the first area of legislation. Ancelmo is willing to betray Riego, who symbolizes the very purification of man's political aims by willing submission to a written contract (read marriage/Constitution), which requires a certain amount of discipline and self-denial.

As Ancelmo leaves with Roberto, Pablo comments that Ancelmo is one of those who applauded Riego in Madrid when the campaign began. His long monologue includes begging pity for a country so full of calamities, and the following recriminations for his own miserable existence and that of his countrymen:

Por una lealtad mal entendida
 Por miedo y egoísmo muy punibles
 Contribuistes estando en la apatía,
 Mientras otros peleaban denodados
 Y cubiertos de gloria perecían
 Al triunfo y regocijo del?
 Para que la patria viva envilecida
 For a poorly understood royalty
 For fear and selfishness very punishable
 You contributed being in apathy
 While others fought intrepidly
 And covered in glory died
 To the triumph and joy of?
 So that the country live defiled (sic 24)

These words also serve as a recrimination to those who allowed the conspiracy to take place. Julián and Domingo Inquisition speak in the next scene concerning the need to deliver a certain person dead or alive (250). Here we are led to believe this could be the author himself. Mexía must have found a certain solace in reliving in real or imaginary details his own escape from Spain. To accompany Riego, the military hero both he and his coeditor Morales so admired, in his final moments would have been the ultimate glory for the journalist Mexía.

As Roberto leaves he announces the arrival of Teresa and María. Teresa expresses her desire to speak to her husband and Domingo as a priest of the Inquisition denies her saying he is not authorized. Teresa denounces him as a *servil* who “doblando la rodilla por obtener un elevado empleo” ‘bending his knee

to obtain a high office' (25) will do anything. She calls the patriots to see the terrible situation to which she has been reduced.

Act III and Act IV: *Riego* and Don Domingo Inquisition

Act III takes place in the *Cortes* prison courtroom beginning with a dialogue between Pablo and Roberto. Then Pablo asks Domingo Inquisition to take his place at the reunion of Riego and his wife. Domingo Inquisition seems to enjoy the idea of seeing "padecer entre cadenas a esos jacobinos infernales" 'the infernal Jacobbeans suffer in chains' (27). Neither does he show any remorse at the treatment of Riego's wife since her husband betrayed the King. Julián enters to let Domingo Inquisition know they have found the official he was hunting. Domingo Inquisition tells him to arrest him and all of his family, and to seize all of his possessions (27).

The next scene is in Riego's prison cell where Riego asks the spy Ancelmo why he has been imprisoned, to which he responds: "Por ser amante de la constitución" 'For being a Constitutional lover' (28). Ancelmo wants to know how liberty seduced him. To which Riego replies that no one seduced him, rather the saintly fire of liberty burns in his heart. He says he would do the same if he had it all to do over (29). This theme of the holy fire of liberty is repeated in many works. Then Ancelmo listens to Riego explain his reasons for fighting. He insists his reasons are "justa, racional y loable" 'just, rational and admirable' (29). Ten years before his father had told him that if tyranny ever reigned, he should sacrifice himself in the "justos derechos" 'just cause'. If he did not, he would deny him as his son (30). Is his father God or is it a free Spain in the utopian liberal vision? In either case, to be a true son, a patriot, he must be willing to die for his country.

Here Riego speaks of his regret of having saved Spain from Napoleon for the likes of Ferdinand VII:

Triunfo del hombre grande que dictaba
leyes entonces a la Europa entera:
¡Que triunfo tan funesto! ¡Que obsecada
estuvo la nación, y yo con ella!

Triumph of the great man who made laws
 For all of Europe:
 What a disastrous triumph! How obsessed
 Was the nation and I with it (30)

He blames the state of anarchy directly on the voluntary absence of the monarchy (31). While the nation fought for Ferdinand VII, a government formed and representatives were named, which the people presumed were upholding constitutional laws supported by the King (31). Here he is speaking of the Constitution of 1812. He compares the situation then to the present state of affairs where the King, "...cual tigre fiero...cual león de Numidia..." '...that fierce tiger...that lion of Numidia...' (Numidia is now Algeria) has usurped all power and even reinvoked the Inquisition in the form of a secret state police (32). He mentions as distinguished patriots "Pollier, Lacey, Richards...Vidal, Beltran de Lis..." (33). At the end of the scene Ancelmo admits he is a spy (34). The infante pushes Fernando to kill Riego immediately (35). Act III ends with the King's violent words: "Yo quisiera poder beber la sangre de mis pueblos!...que todos mis vasallos perecieran" 'I Would like to drink the blood of my peoples!...let all of my vassals die' (35).

In Act IV Riego's trial takes place behind closed doors for fear of causing another uprising in Madrid. Cosme in an allegorical portrayal of the World as Judge comments how prone to such behavior the "populacho infame" 'despicable plebians' have become since the "tiempo ominoso en que estuvieron abiertas las tribunas populares", 'ominous time in which the popular tribunals were open' during which "cuatro impostores" 'four imposters' managed to convince them they had rights (36). Antonio reads the accusations against Riego to the Judge Cosme, who besides representing one particular man as judge and the Spanish judicial system in general, becomes the world as judge of the sad state of Spanish affairs. The principal case against Riego was having the King declared inept and obliging him to go to Cádiz. Despite the list of documents Antonio says are involved with the case, the World Judge denies them. He regards the fact that no

confession has been taken as mere “sutilezas del derecho” ‘subtleties of the law’ (37).

Judge Cosme as World Judge declares the case “asunto concluido” ‘case closed’ and acknowledges that the King’s sentence lacks only all of their signatures (37). Pablo asks to what the sentence has been reduced? To which Cosme as World Judge replies that he is to be hung, executed in the Plaza Cebada after being dragged from the jail to the gallows. Once they have verified he is dead, they are to cut off his head. His body is to be quartered; his head is to be placed in the town of Santa Juana, the other four parts in León, Seville, Málaga and Madrid.

The only protest raised is by Pablo, who asks the others if it is just that an innocent man be treated in this way. He asks how the judges’ laws can be incorruptible, just, and reflect integrity if he signs such a document. Cosme as World Judge reminds him that in those countries where absolutism still reigns, it is the King who has the supreme power. He can make and erase laws, while “el magistrado, llena sus deberes, cumple su obligación...” ‘the magistrate, fulfills his duties, meets his obligation’ (38). All the rest are “teorías...vanas ilusiones que vertieron cuatro escritores tontos cuando había libertad de imprimir” ‘theories...vain illusions that were poured out by four stupid writers when there was freedom of the press (38).

Time has now passed and old customs prevail. Pablo begs him to consider how the entire world will judge them for having condemned to death a man who was still unaware of the cause of his imprisonment and who has declared nothing yet. He reminds Cosme as World Judge that the monarch would have died in Seville if not for the actions of the accused. Pablo refuses to sign and says he will go to the King. Cosme as World Judge tries to take Pablo prisoner, but Pablo pulls out his pistols. He swears that if the King will not hear his pleas in favor of law and justice, he will reject his profession of law. Further, he proposes to die with Riego. Cosme as World Judge says one signature more or less will not make a difference. More importantly, he reminds him: “Con el silencio hacemos un

servicio/Al rey nuestro señor y gobierno” ‘With silence we do service/to the king our sire and government’ (39).

The next scene finds Teresa seated on the floor with her servant María standing near. She asks María to help her to see her husband Rafael, although she knows she may die trying to get into the jail. She will die happy if she can only see him (40). Following is a conversation that takes place in the makeshift courtroom of the jail cell. Domingo Inquisition asks Roberto about a certain prisoner named Félix who he thinks is a colonel. Here Mexía is telling his own real or imaginary tale of flight from the Inquisition. When Roberto says he is not sure because they have brought in more than two hundred prisoners, Domingo Inquisition insists he locate him. Benito calls for the magistrate Domingo Inquisition to see the King. Benito describes the scene between the furious Pablo and the King who is upset although he knows no details. Domingo Inquisition leaves in a rush (41).

In the prison, Riego, Félix and Ancelmo have been separated. Riego expresses his disbelief that even his last hope that his beloved wife (read Constitution) would be spared hardship has been dashed. Here Félix tells Riego he is sorry to be a prisoner when at this very moment plans are being formulated for their release. Riego disapproves that blood be spilt for him. He feels his death is unavoidable:

Mi sangre derramada por la mano
De un verdugo fatal hará a los pueblos
Despertar del letargo en que se hallan...
Si los pueblos en masa no se alzan
El triunfo del tirano será cierto.
My blood shed by the hand
Of a fatal hangman will make the people
Wake up from the lethargy in which they find themselves
If the people in mass do not rise up
The tyrant's triumph is certain. (42)

Rousseau's proposal of a communal gathering in a unanimous ceremony without distinction of actors mixed with spectators was yet to come. That type of civic demonstration was impossible in the hierarchical society still prevalent in nineteenth-century Spain. That nineteenth-century theatre as a window to a world where anything was possible was being produced elsewhere, but not in Spain due to censorship.

This repetitive outcry for the populace to react becomes more personalized when read through the poem and narrative footnotes of Benigno Morales to Félix Mexía. According to Morales the fruit of the tyrant's crimes is the ability to divide his people in classes or factions that mutually despise one another. He calls it a "quijotesca manía" 'quixotic mania' that allowed each party to forget the heartaches caused and the responsible parties. He called those people *pastaleros*, a term he and Mexía used to describe the more moderate Constitutional liberals and those against them in the ministry during the Triennium. As explained earlier, this term is that those people "son formados de una masa más exquisita que los demás" 'are made from a more exquisite dough than the rest' (Carta 76). That type of name-calling compared to present day political trashing seems mild. But "insidious example of yellow journalism," "libel," and "viciousness" were some of the terms used by others to describe the newspaper commentary published by Mexía and Morales (28). Zavala cited most of the books and memoirs of that period, as well as the major literary chroniclers Alcalá Galiano and Mesonero Romanos, in portraying *El Zurriago* as political demagoguery. Morales makes note of the importance of legal equality, which only the written laws of the Constitution of 1812 could make possible.

Domingo Inquisition enters with Roberto and Pablo in handcuffs and without hats. Domingo Inquisition rebukes Pablo for his imprudent actions, but Pablo turns his back, telling him to leave and take the traitor Ancelmo with him. Domingo Inquisition leaves Pablo speaking to Riego. They embrace as Riego asks how Pablo ended up there. He explains how he tried to buy time after finding out he would have to hear the case by explaining the legal implications to the King. When he called the King a tyrant Pablo was arrested. (43) Act IV ends when

Pablo reveals he is a *comunero*. Pablo says that if their destiny is to die, they will die like Padilla, Bravo, and Maldonado for the freedom of their country (44).

Lloréns tells of Benigno Morales's death as part of the uprising in August of 1824 with Pablo Iglesias, official of the Madrid militia (74). In the refiguring of the above characters revolving around Riego's arrest, Pablo could be the real life Pablo Iglesias who fought with Benigno Morales. His specific historical characterization as Pablo the dramatic character stands for all the *comuneros* who were working for just and legal solutions. His role provides a stark contrast to the portrayal of Don Antonio.

Act V *Riego*: Félix Mexía as Dramatic Narrator and Don Antonio's Relationship to the Infamous Secret Documents

Act V reveals Félix's knowledge of "las infames páginas secretas" 'the infamous secret pages' where Riego was discredited. Félix rebukes Riego about the same and says he should have denounced "Chavárri", "el canónigo" 'the prebendary, religious canon' 'Herróz, Cuenca, Baso', "el abuelo, y el curita" 'the grandfather and the little priest' who like Grimarest, Amarillas," and "los caudillos de las guardias de corps" 'leaders of the guardsmen' killed the defenseless populace (sic 45). Apparently "the grandfather" was a reference to Alcalá Galiano. Le Brun supported that nickname for Alcalá Galiano, who was considerably older than others at *Cortes* and highly respected both literarily and politically during the Triennium.

Don Antonio

Son of the famous maritime battle hero of Trafalgar, Don Antonio Alcalá Galiano had already begun to display a more mature moderate politics during the Triennium (some might say), leaving behind the petulant boldness of his youth. In 1826, Carlos Le Brun described him as not such a fierce old lion as the Zurriaguistas maintained. Talented, well educated, and patriotic, that famous critic was still quite an intrepid orator during the Spanish Triennium. Le Brun, while admiring his sobriety and ability to convince the populace with propositions and speeches, questioned how consistently principled his motives were in upholding the Constitution (127-28).

It is necessary to keep in mind the comments made by Cruz concerning Alcalá Galiano and his stance in the context of traditional family lineage in Madrid (19). Also his position as one of the most outstanding *exaltado* parliamentary orators of the Triennium, as Seoane maintained, brings up a number of issues (178). A variety of sources support the statement that he spoke with logic and passion. He was nicknamed “el ruiseñor de las Cortes” and “Rossini” ‘the nightingale of the Spanish Parliament’ (183). He possessed the most important traits of a great persuader: vast culture, an incredible memory, powerful imagination, and a sharp intuition. His prolific written production included historical treatises, translations, biographies, autobiography, essays, prologues, newspaper articles, literary criticism, poetry and his lectures (García Barrón 220). The rest of Seoane’s physical description and psychological profile of the son whose brigadier father died at the Battle of Trafalgar definitely confirm his ability to express himself (178). She commented as well regarding his access from a very early age to a well-endowed library with French works by Voltaire, Rousseau and Montesquieu. His uncle provided that resource for the precocious young critic, and he was well prepared to read in French and later in English (179). An interesting note by Seoane was that many authors believed his autobiography was dominated by a sincere desire to excuse the demagogic actions of his youth.

Others, such as Alberto Gil Novales, believed his liberalism was nothing more than a self-created myth. During the Triennium he spoke passionately against the same government and especially against Argüelles and Martínez de la Rosa--so criticized by Larra and attacked by the Zurriaguistas (182). His move to the moderate side apparently began sooner according to Seoane who said that during the Triennium when the *exaltados* had pinned their hopes on him his conduct was a letdown. The extreme left *comuneros* felt betrayed (183).

In his revisionist theory of both the Marxist bourgeois revolution and early nineteenth-century liberal movements as democratic revolution, Cruz indirectly points to the same lack of political cohesion and support among the different liberal groups. Although Cruz, following Peristiany, found ancestral concern

important in the majority of the European upper and middle classes of that time, he judged “lineage” and “reputación” to be particularly important in Spain and other Mediterranean areas (20). Identity was through a name and the social stature it provided, so it followed that if your family name did not have clout, you might choose to glorify your name by heroic deeds.

No matter what their public liberal discourse with respect to equal rights might have been, Cruz maintained this type of elitist tendency was prevalent. He mentioned kinship ties that Don Antonio Galiano had with influential people in Cádiz at that time, basing his comments on Galiano’s own autobiography. Cruz went on to point out that favoritism in the form of kinship, actually a type of social nepotism not uncommon in government and business positions to this day, provided for his diplomatic position. He also pointed out mutual obligations that he said were used to promote García de León y Pizarro during the French occupation. Cruz continued that one’s family name in the culture of those times was a “credential of distinctions” and certainly a means to succeed. In other words, to be an Alcalá Galiano went beyond the “nuclear family” to a “cultural perception” of that name that gave it “historical transcendence” and special social privileges (20).

Galiano, who later would be Larra’s editor, served as the head of *Los amigos del orden*, a Masonic order that provided for indirect political party control according to Ullman. That society, like others in the large Madrid cafés, was the scene of much liberal political oratory. The liberal moderates included “Francisco Martínez de la Rosa, José María Queipo de Llano, the Conde de Toreno, Bernardino Fernández de Velasco, the Duque de Frías, and José María Calatrava” among others (11). The Zurriaguistas Benigno Morales and Félix Mexía cited all of the above, as well as San Miguel de Evaristo as the “enano de la venta” ‘sell-out midget’ and other ministers as part of the conspiracy of the ring detailed in the drama about Riego. Morales’s *Carta* particularly pointed out Alcalá Galiano as the one who betrayed them. The following selection of the letter from Benigno Morales described the scene as set by the Zurriaguistas:

Galiano, que era el que menos tenía que perder, y el más proporcionado para una jarana, se dispone para el combate con cuatro o cinco botellas, y seguido de Campos, marcha a la puerta del sol: allí perora a la multitud: les dice que la libertad y la patria se pierden sin remedio; que los ministros iban a salvarla y por eso los despoja el rey de sus puestos:

Inculca la contestación a las notas; habla de medidas de defensa que se proyectaban; dice también que los autores de *El Zurriago* vendidos a la Santa Alianza, pagados por el Rey, y propuestos por el embajador francés iban a reemplazar a los ministros depuestos, para abrir la puerta a los franceses y entronizar el despotismo: aparece ahí San Miguel y los demás compañeros, excepto el ministro de hacienda que se fue a palacio a decirle al Rey que era llegada su última hora, si no revocaba su decreto de deposición del ministerio: No se olvida Galiano ni los demás de la pandilla de hacer observar al pueblo que las cortes iban a empezar sus sesiones dentro de diez días, y el cambio del ministerio tenía por objeto el evitar que aquellos ministros tan patriotas diesen cuenta a la representación nacional del estado de la nación: Y con todas estas arterías e infamias consiguieron arrastrar el pueblo hasta palacio gritando muera el rey y muera Mexía

Galiano, the one with the least to lose, and the most well-Informed for the fun games, gets ready for the fight with four or five Bottles and followed by Campos, marches to the Gateway of the Sun (in Madrid); there he holds forth to the multitudes; he tells them that Liberty and country are lost with no hope of resolution; that the ministers went to save it and for that the king is throwing them out of office:

He fills their heads with the reply to the debts, he speaks of the defense tactics that they projected; he also speaks of the authors *El Zurriago* as sell-outs to the Holy Alliance, paid by the King, and

nominated by the French ambassador they were to replace the fallen ministers, to open the door to the French and enthrone despotism; San Miguel then appears and along with the rest of his companions, except the ministry of the treasury that went straight away to the palace to inform the King that his last hour had arrived, if he did not revoke the decree deposing the ministry: Galiano does not forget, nor does the rest of the gang, to make note to the people that the Spanish Parliament was going to begin its sessions in ten days and that the change of ministry had as its main objective to avoid that those patriotic ministers inform the national representatives of the state of the nation: And with all of those artful lies, they managed to drag people all the way to the palace shouting down with the king and death to Mexía (*Carta* 157).

According to Morales, Arguëlles bought Alcalá Galiano by offering him the position of “intendencia” ‘quartermaster, general governor’ of Córdoba (164). Much later in 1846, Alcalá Galiano would describe himself at this stage of his life “as an imprudent distorter of fact, arrogant, contributing to malevolence, hurling invectives, and putting on airs of fatuous solemnity” (Lloréns 163).

Nineteenth-century literary critic Antonio Alcalá Galiano was first the leader of *Los Amigos del Orden* (*Friends of Order*), a Masonic society and dominant political force during the Triennium. Some twelve years later, he served as Larra’s Editor.

Ullman describes Galiano’s situation as similar to the “disillusionment of many Progressives after the Martínez de la Rosa era” (33). This critic even says that the same disheartened spirit due to exposure to this type of political situation may partially explain Larra’s suicide besides his personal issues (Ullman 33). Ullman does mention his love life, cited in chapter one, beginning with the sad discovery at age 16 that the young woman in her 20s to whom he was so attracted was his father’s mistress (14). Ullman’s book on Larra details how Larra satirized the political discourse of the moderates during the term of Martínez de la Rosa. This author points out the importance of censorship in the production of Fígaro’s

Artículos de costumbres (*Articles on Customs*), comparing the censors to “the Church fathers for Dante, or Freud for Joyce” (39). He considers Figaro’s slide from a quasi-liberal waiting for Zea to fall, to writing anti-Carlist articles to a farther left position. Ullman studies the progressive Larra, in opposition to the moderates, who supported the holding back of reforms and retardation of social changes common in the Martínez de la Rosa administration (365).

Angel Del Río cited three important factors for the failure of liberalism and the novelty of new ideas in general. He spoke of the resistance of an absolute king who was reactionary by nature, the politics of the Holy Alliance, and the demagoguery of the liberals themselves. The dramatic narrator Félix speaks to the same issues. The terrible “*decada ominosa*” ‘ominous decade’ that followed with the absolutist Francisco Tadeo Calomarde at the helm was perhaps worse than that of 1814, Del Río said (97). Del Río and Lloréns, along with others, documented the thousands of Spaniards who left to exile. Spain lost an entire generation of intellectuals, who wore a variety of conflicting and confusing liberal labels. Del Río described this trajectory as similar to the situation of the Civil War exiles. Blanco Aguinaga also made this analogy in his article cited in the beginning of this critique. The fact that the liberals were unable to organize a stable government due to infighting is salient in politics everywhere, but it was crucial to the role of dramatic narrator in this *noticiero vivo*.

Félix tells Riego he was naïve and lists all of the abuses of power by the clergy and those with fortune and rank who would not give up for the common good (46). Félix the fictitious dramatic narrator repeats the words of Mexía’s friend Benigno, who in the *Carta* decried the powerful authority of the “Grandes” ‘the Great Ones’. Those who work and sweat--the day laborer, sailor, artisan, soldier, merchant--allow for the gentlemen, “*hijos-dalgo ...que se abaniquen y coman sin trabajar...*” ‘sons of someone...who fan themselves and eat without working...’ so that they can refer to those who work for a living as “*pueblo bajo*” ‘lowlife’ (79).

Felix says he and Riego will pay with their heads. Riego responds that it was the government, and the tribunal of justice that deceived him. When Riego

says the King was seduced, Pablo objects and relates the story of the King trying to kill his own father Carlos IV, after which he went to Bayonne, and left the Kingdom to Napoleon without even a fight (47). He says it was the King who delayed “un comerciante inglés” ‘an English merchant’ who had gone to save him. He blames Ferdinand VII for turning his back on his brave subjects who tried to defend him and instead put servile lackeys in their posts and bribed the guards to shout “long live the King” at the end of June. *Seduce* is too good a word to describe what happened. They should have punished the King, but instead Riego detained him: “...fatal paso! ¡Cuanto lo sentirá la España ahora!” ‘fatal mistake! How much Spain will regret that now! (48). Stage directions say soldiers and Frenchmen are to form in the middle of the theater, with the three prisoners to one side. The official tells them to lower the bayonets they hold pointed at the prisoners (48).

Riego directs his monologue to the Frenchmen who he says only recently taught Europe the lessons of liberty, but now insult patriotism. They are the same ones who taught the World that kings are only men, that the people only enjoy liberty under a just and legal contract that is a Constitution. They will become slaves under Napoleon Bonaparte (49).

Teresa enters and faints after seeing her beloved husband Riego. Domingo, as the allegorical and real representative of the Inquisition, enters with her threatening to make Pablo pay for his insolence. Roberto pulls out the rope to hang Riego (50). Félix cannot watch his hanging, but Riego calls it “el instante deseado” ‘the desired moment’, for them to wish him well (51). His death will serve as an example to other oppressed peoples. In his death, he becomes immortal. Julián reads the King’s orders that Pablo and Félix be put to death in a secret room of the jail in three hours. Félix acknowledges his death as a relief from his afflictions, while Riego laments in a long harangue: “será la razón esclava siempre?” ‘will reason always be a slave?’ He blames fanaticism in the form of the Inquisition: “ese monstruo feroz! Las leyes santas” ‘that ferocious monster! The holy laws’ (53). His response to his rhetorical question of where the valiant patriots are now is that there will always be some. The rope reminds him

how the Spanish people are like the gentle ox tied to their master. To the sounds of a funeral march Riego is to reach his honorable end urging the Spanish people: "venganza...guerra...muerte a los tiranos" 'vengeance...war...death to tyrants' (54).

Historical Background of the *Cortes* in Spain and New Spain

In order to understand *Riego*, the following general historical background of the Spanish European *Cortes* and their counterparts in Mexico taken primarily from the essays edited by Nettie Lee Benson, and entitled *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes* was indispensable. Another valuable source was *Mexico: Biography of Power* by Enrique Krauze. Napoleon's march through Europe included an attempt to make Spain a part of his vast empire by seating his brother José on the Spanish throne. In 1808, Napoleon made his presence felt in many parts of the world outside of the European theatre of war. The effects were particularly pronounced in the New World Viceroyalty of New Spain. In Mexico the Spanish *Cortes* of 1810 to 1814 and 1820 to 1822 proved to be a turning point in Mexican political history.

The history of that Spanish political juridical system is an interesting one dating to the middle of the eleventh century in Spain. Even at that early stage it was a way for the King to stage warring political elements in such a way that they would be in direct conflict rather than contending with royal political power. Since there were three separate estates--the church, the nobility and the municipality-- represented in each of the *Cortes* in each kingdom, the King was free to meet with all of the estates or consult with only one or two at a time. Although the King controlled the estates in those days, those separate entities established enough independence to realize certain special favors by exploiting their position as political devices to control power. The municipalities were able to gain advantage because in the early part of the eleventh century the King was struggling for control of the nobility.

By the mid-twelfth century, the Knights of Santiago formed. This group was both a military and religious organization similar to the Knights of Calatrava and Montesa. These nobles organized in political groups to protect their own

interests. The *caballeros* or Spanish knights preceded these groups and they were usually lesser nobility and common people who merely offered their services to the king. The kings often used these knights as a threat against the more powerful nobles. Sometimes the nobles had more military power than the king, which brought about a special balance of power. There were two other groups, the clergy and the *Hernandades*, a kind of brotherhood of the municipalities. First, the clergy were not only clergy, but also part soldier and monk, and second those brotherhoods were actually a kind of interstate police that could be used by those in power to track down political renegades, rebels, or criminals.

During that era of fortified isolated cities living a kind of independence sanctioned by the king, the people in the municipalities generally learned to govern themselves in town hall type meetings. The king was content to provide this right because it threw their support his way against the warring nobles. That type of community government in the towns made a logical case for some sort of representation to the kingdom. The first *Cortes* came about at the end of the twelfth century. It was a kind of proto parliament that allowed the common people a voice beside the representatives of the church and the nobility. As a kind of safety valve for the independent spirit of the eternally warring Christians, the *Cortes* also provided a venue for complaints without forcing the monarch to give up any authority.

Those ancient *Cortes* were merely advisory bodies; they did not legislate. They could vote on how they wanted to share the burden of the king's taxes, look at budgetary issues and expenses the king proposed, and voice their opinion, even petitioning for changes. In the end the rule of law was the king's word of law. This was the medieval felicity nostalgically remembered by the more moderate factions during the Triennium.

Before the seventeenth century reached the halfway mark, the aristocracy controlled the noble classes, as well as the church, and dependence on the *Cortes* lessened. During this period convocation of *Cortes* became less frequent and its members generally only served as "yes men" to the King's plans. The Spanish *Cortes* of 1810 to 1814 and 1820 to 1822 were special for a number of reasons.

First, they met as a single elected body politic and those representatives known as “diputados” ‘representatives’ reflected not only the towns they represented, but also the provincial juntas that had begun as a reaction to the French invasion. Also, the general population in New Spain was represented in the form of one *diputado* for each fifty thousand provincial inhabitants. Neither the *Junta Central* nor the Regency imagined that their desire for unification of the entire Spanish domain both Old World and New World, in the fight against the French would result in a constitutional convention. That congress, similar to the Constitutional Congress of the United States, drew up a national charter that provided for a limited constitutional monarchy.

As editor for a series of essays entitled *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes*, Nettie Lee Benson concluded that the Mexican people gained valuable political experience at *Cortes*. She commented on the areas of parliamentary procedure, conduction of local and provincial elections, freedom of expression and the vision to see the necessity of reforms in the economy, military, and religion. So while normally Creole history is one of insurrection and dissension, the other path to independence outlined in the essays edited by Benson was precisely this less dramatic but longer lasting parliamentary debate. Learning to vote as a single political unit is highlighted in the essays since they “show that in nearly every instance when a roll-call vote was recorded on a subject, the Mexicans acted as a unit” (208-209). That quote echoed the political statement made by Mexía on the cover of *Riego*. “¡Haced...haced buen Dios que decidida corra a las armas la nación en masa para cobrar la libertad perdida!” ‘Good God let the nation as one answer the call to arms to recover lost liberty!’

The power of the Spanish *Cortes* grew even as the Regency realized its authority was slipping away. The *Cortes* arrested members of the Regency, then tried, imprisoned, or exiled them, as well as the ministers, despite the appointment of the new Regency. Beginning September 24, 1810 until September 20, 1813, a special session drew up a constitution for all of Spain and its possessions. The liberal revolutionary sessions of October 1, 1813, to February 19, 1814, and March to May 10, 1814 legislated continuously until the King decreed their

absolution on May 10, 1814. The return to autocratic rule lasted until the beginning of 1820 in both the New World and the Old. It was the revolt by Riego that forced Ferdinand VII to bring back the *Cortes* and pronounce support for the Constitution of 1812. Mexican independence owes at least a nod to Riego's uprising in Spain and the restoration of the liberal Constitution of 1812 (Mier 238).

The political satire in *El Zurriago* reflected the radical nature of those *Cortes* that was even more pronounced than in those held from 1810 to 1814. Mexico's independence movement resonated with the oratory from those *Cortes* with heavy activity from 1810 to 1814, then with less fighting from 1814 to 1820, and finally independence in 1821. Benson pointed out in *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes* that this particular period of Mexican political history was grossly misinterpreted without much recognition for the constitutional movement during the period of Spanish monarchy and the *Cortes* from 1809 to 1814 and 1820 to 1822 (5).

She also discounted Priestley's account of the election of New Spain's representatives to the *Cortes* in Spain. Priestley had said the Mexican representatives were resident in Spain, and although elected in the provinces did not have to make the long arduous trip by sea. Benson pointed out that Priestly neglected to show the importance of the Mexican representation, including the way elections worked. Five different elections selected more than one hundred sixty Mexicans from 1810 to 1814 and again from 1820 to 1822.

Was Riego's Martyrdom a Futile One?

The following historical details are important in establishing who Riego, the man and guerrilla fighter was. Furthermore, the literary-political discourse he inspired made possible the allegorical representation of him in Morales's poem as captain of the ship of state and later Mexía's liberal martyr in the present drama. With regard to his martyrdom to the liberalist cause, apparently not many other works were dedicated to his legend. Lloréns said the liberals of 1834 felt it was sufficient to continue singing the "Himno de Riego" (48). Zavala, following Blasco Ibañez, noted the popularity of other revolutionary political ditties such as

"El Trágala", one of those invented by the Zurriaguistas in Spain. It became popular in Mexico with a change of lyrics: "<<Gloria a Iturbide, / que con prudencia / ha cimentado / la independencia / Ya mexicanos / libres nos vemos / y a los tiranos / ya no tememos>>" 'Glory to Iturbide / that with prudente / has cemented / the independence / Already Mexicans / see themselves as free / and tyrants / we no longer have' (22).

The complaints of the troops in Spain who have no desire to board ships to fight their brothers across the sea is revealed in another ship metaphor related to the larger ship of state:

El pequeño vajel de los patriotas,
 Sin lastre, sin remeros, y sin velas
 Y en todas direcciones combatido:
 De su suerte infeliz se lamentan
 Y esperan el naufragio por instantes
 Pero el Gran Riego que el timón maneja
 Impávido los lleva a salvamento
 The patriots' little warship
 Without ballast, without oars and without sails
 And in all directions combat:
 they lament their unfortunate luck
 And wait moment to moment for the shipwreck
 But the Great Riego that mans the rudder
 Undaunted takes them to salvation (38)

Liberal rhetoric did not stop the French from taking over most of the patriot-held territory in Spain from 1810 to 1812, then 1812 to 1814. The liberation by the British redcoats further extended the "military aristocracy" by increasing "the nucleus of liberal officers" (185). Morales lashes out at that aristocracy, blaming the despotic government for not allowing a young man of skill and good disposition to be admitted to a school, academy, or university without presenting his genealogy and proof of noble background. "Buenas

costumbres, talento y méritos personales” ‘Good manners, talent and personal merit’ should be sufficient, he says (78).

Esdaile maintained that in order to keep their political strength the liberals had to defeat the French. The “politicization” of the army was complete when the revolution “...ended as it had begun with a military coup.” (185). Restoring Ferdinand VII did not return the country to its prior status. While the King relied on tradition and the Church, Christiansen pointed out that for the monarch the “...voice of the army was very much the voice of God”(18). Esdaile said the officer corps was on the side of the absolutists in 1814 because of “a shared resentment of the liberals” (195). He felt only a small number of aristocrats wanted to return life as it was prior to 1808, that they had actually benefitted from the war and were only put off by the “liberals’ dogmatic anti-militarism” (195). Zavala cited *El Zurriago* # 5.8 “La guerra civil es un don del cielo” ‘The civil war is a heaven-sent gift’:

En la disyuntiva de sufrir el yugo de un déspota o de tener que correr a las armas para defender la libertad, es necesario no titubear un instante en adoptar el último extremo. Cuando los hombres libres se declaran en guerra abierta con lo que quieren ser vasallos, esta lucha se llama guerra civil; ¿pero no es mejor esta guerra civil que sufrir con las cadenas de la arbitrariedad, las hogueras de la Inquisición y la dura muerte de esclavos, en cuyo estado no hay patria, y viven los hombres sin derechos pues hasta el pensar jura vasallaje y sumisión al despota?

In the dilemma of suffering the despot’s yoke or having to run to arms to defend liberty, it is necessary not to hesitate an instant in adopting the ultimate extreme. When free men declare themselves in open warfare against those who want to be vassals, that battle is called civil war; but isn’t this civil war better than suffering the arbitrary chains, the bonfires of the Inquisition

Later Miñano attributed the following statement by a *liberal exaltado* to the young officer Benigno Morales while Alcalá Galiano attributed the statement

to Romero Alpuente in Seoane. "The war is a heaven-sent gift" was of course quoted as a scandalous statement, but Zavala confirmed what Seoane said; taken in context it was not really so terrible. According to both authors it simply referred to the war that freed men from despotism and slavery. Another edition of *El Zurriago* (3. 8-9) also quoted the same word for word. Historically, according to several sources other than the *Carta*, Morales was shot by a firing squad. That was more than a heroic gesture or the voice of a poet's conscience. Four thousand officers, prisoners of war, were not welcomed home with rewards. Also, Alcalá Galiano mentioned in his memoirs their exposure to freemasonry and liberal ideas during their time in prison. Mexía was also jailed twice.

Enrique Krauze testified to the importance of the word *liberal* not only in the history of modern Spain, but also in Mexican modern history. He noted the change in meaning from the adjective meaning "generous" as it was used in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Most importantly he credited Napoleon's wars in Spain from 1808 to 1814 for creating a "vacuum of power" inside of which the independence movements in the American colonies were formed. Later the word derived a new meaning as a political faction. The Spanish Constitution of 1812 actually drawn up under the influence of the French Charter of 1793 was not truly a sacred code to all of the Spanish patriots. There were many Spanish liberals who did fervently revere this document and who gave their lives by dying or leaving their beloved country to go into exile. Two years later the Spanish Constitution of 1812 became the model for the first Mexican Constitution portrayed in both dramas in this study as a loving wife. Krauze metaphorically expressed that change from the colonial period as a move away from the traditional absolutist position of "one sword, one monarch, one faith...as a dangerous obstacle to any attempts at navigating the seas of the modern World" (13). That idea was very common among nineteenth-century liberals, along with the need to escape, to free oneself from the past and move to the future (13).

The Military

On the other hand there were the soldiers such as Benigno Morales. Esdaile quoted an anonymous soldier's letter who said he was left "without

money or health...reduced to the choice of 'death or robbery'"(410). In a visit to Spain in the 1820s the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow provided the following description of a place "overrun with robbers and atrocities," where they would sit in the inns at night speaking in hushed tones of the dangers that awaited them on their travels (Bergamini '181). Despite protests by "El Empecinado," 'The Determined One' another guerrilla fighter, Fernando rewarded young nobility who had not actually served in the war (196). Before long, the beginning group of liberal officers expanded with those who were not promoted or became sincere devotees of freemasonry. Alcalá Galiano discussed the use of freemasonry as a form of secret communication especially among these more-educated officers (424).

Francisco Espoz y Mina

The first manifestation of this discontent was Francisco Espoz y Mina's failed takeover at Pamplona in 1814. As a well known *servil* according to Esdaile, who quotes Giron and Whittingham, he did not receive the vicereignty of Navarre as promised and his troops were disbanded. After this came the public snub by Fernando at court. After failing to raise his troops in revolt, he fled across the Pyrenees (197). Meanwhile, the army in Andalucía that was being formed to fight the American rebels was left waiting, some since 1815, with the deprivations entailed in such service. Many had been drafted unwillingly, or were convicted criminals with little desire to see the New World.

Riego's Rebellion

At the same time a group of liberal officers started another uprising. That insurrection was led by Rafael de Riego, Evaristo de San Miguel and Antonio Quiroga. At first they convinced the Conde del Abísbal, and the rank and file to follow Riego with the promise not to go to America, full pay, land, and a chance to return home. When Abísbal turned on them, Riego still made his *pronunciamiento* for the Constitution of 1812, telling his men that this document would stop the war in America. Since the forces at the garrison were not to be sent to the New World, they remained faithful to Fernando, while Riego went from one city to the next looking for a popular backing. The Andalusian revolt

gave heart to other rebels and was followed by La Coruña, Zaragoza, Barcelona, Tarragona, Gerona and Pamplona. The interesting part was another turnaround by Abísbal, who was in charge of the forces sent to defeat Riego. Realizing the tide was turning, he defected with his forces to the rebels leaving Fernando no choice but to surrender. So by 1820, it would appear the majority of the officer corps had become liberal, but that was not really the case (198).

Esdaile made the point that while some were motivated ideologically; many officers were mainly influenced by individual concerns or merely “opportunism.” The Conde del Montijo, responsible for many of these intrigues, was a “mere adventurer” according to this military historian. Esdaile cited their addiction to the heroic gesture, which allowed either for a move up in the ranks or death, which entailed its own romantic attraction. They chose to follow the liberals because they felt their interests were met as well as with the absolutists.

In describing the “ominous decade” Seoane mentioned the similarity of the situation in 1823 to that of 1814. The absolutist clergy were responsible for the persecution of liberals, according to her, as Mexía had pointed out in *El Zurriago*. Liberals were even referred to as “los negros” ‘the blacks’ a name that probably was to point out their opposition to the Bourbon faction “los blancos” ‘the whites’ due to the color of their flag (192). The same censorship of the press in 1815 also occurred in 1824 (193). Esdaile suggested the “desertion of the Constitutional regime in the face of the French invasion of 1823” as proof they were not really liberal converts.

Esdaile went on to detail the military development after the War of Independence that included the idea that the problem had been a lack of discipline and national unity. Esdaile blamed chaos on the guerrillas, the fall of the central government, parochial attitudes in the provincial juntas, the lack of a single command, and liberal antimilitarism. The desire not to make the same mistakes resulted in a strong desire for unity, a government with the power to maintain the “authority and integrity of the army and the continuance of law and order” (199). Therefore, it saw its role as ridding the nation of any government that might not support their demands. In this way, Esdaile maintained that the “legacy of the

War of Independence” was a “tradition for political interventionism” in its armed forces in the name of “the national good” (200). An overstaffed officer corps did not help either, he says, with many officers accustomed to viewing civilian authority as contemptible after the numerous uprisings of 1808 to 1814. Esdaile called this “a lasting obstacle” to “Spain’s emergence as a modern democracy” (200).

Mexía’s Exile Identity

On the cover page, Félix Mexía announced the birth of his pseudonym: “the present gives birth to P.J.J.M. X. del R.” This was the name signed at the end of the drama, Juan José Manuel Ximénez del Río. That name was also given for the author of this work in another bibliography (Colón 47). The whole issue of exile identity is wrapped up in the notion of assuming another identity. So strong in fact was this desire to identify with homeland that authors, such as Félix Mexía, felt compelled to reinvent themselves. He appeared in the present drama in a set of circumstances that mirrored reality as well as purported to refigure him in death, even if in name only. Was Félix Mexía directly involved in the politics of the United States or Mexico or was this merely a pseudonym allowing him to write without his past following him?

There was obviously a Félix in this drama that spoke to ideological issues, but this question remains unanswered, with conflicting accounts as for many of the nineteenth-century authors who wrote under pseudonyms fearing persecution even in exile. Besides the pseudonym, in the following passage the dramatist rejected even his own authorship, citing himself as editor only:

Constitución o muerte, ciudadanos
 A tí, gran jefe del emporio indiano,
 Dedico este trabajo tan pequeño
 Como editor tan sólo, y no cual dueño
 Más amante del bien americano.
 Este confirma del monarca hispano,
 Que en dañarnos tomó tan grande empeño,
 Su vil carácter, su sangriento ceño,

Su génio indigno, díscolo, inhumano.
 Dígnate pues, Mecenas generoso,
 Aceptar con agrado aquesta historia
 Del espirante Riego valeroso.
 ¡Ojalá se eternice tu memoria!
 Y el tiempo cante en verso sonoro,
 Del grande GUADALUPE la VICTORIA.
 Constitution or death, citizens
 To you, great leader of the Indies Empire
 I dedicate this work so little
 As editor only and not the owner
 But lover of the American welfare
 This confirms that the Hispanic Monarch
 That in harming us took on such a great enterprise
 His vile character, his bloody brow,
 His shameful genius, disobedient, inhuman
 Shame on you then, generous Patron,
 Accept with pleasure this story
 Of the valiant Riego about to breathe his last breath
 I hope you cherish his memory!
 And in time sing his resonant verse
 Of the great GUADALUPE VICTORY (55)
 Symbolic Significance in Mexía's Sonnet Dedicated
 to Guadalupe Victoria, First President of Mexico

The importance of reading this drama in light of the above lies primarily in the reference to the theological use of the word *espirante*. In addition to simply dying, in religious terms this also means producing the Father and the Son through the Holy Spirit by means of reciprocal love from the verb *espirar*. The symbolic value of the name chosen by a real man christened Manuel Félix Fernández is not only religious, but also political in nature.

After Father Hidalgo, Fernández was a very important person in Mexican political history and in the writing of *Riego*. Most know his name in Mexican history as Guadalupe Victoria. This is to whom Félix Mexía dedicated this drama. Jim Tuck referred to him as the unknown president because of the contrasting legend between the founding ‘father of the United States, twice president Revolutionary War hero George Washington and that Mexican president. It is true, as Tuck said that the name of George Washington carried more than historical value (1). The legend of George Washington certainly had spread from the Americas back to Europe. (See the next chapter of this work for comments regarding the symbolic value in George Washington’s name in relationship to politics as a religion, political speeches, holidays, and legal cases.) The name Guadalupe Victoria takes on special significance in *Riego*.

Tuck says little is known of the life of Guadalupe Victoria.²⁵ He was a teacher at the outbreak of the War of Independence in Mexico. At the battle of Oaxaca on November 25, 1812, he was a soldier under José María Morelos. He became leader of the rebel movement in Veracruz in 1814, declaring independence with the Chilpancingo congress. He went into hiding after his defeat at Palmillas in 1817 at the Paseo de Ovejas hacienda in Veracruz according to Tuck (1). His reappearance in April 1821 with a republican plan for a reform leader who would become Constitutional president parallels the plan Francisco Espoz y Mina had for himself in Spain.

Victoria’s actions caused Iturbide to take away his military command and imprison him. His escape put him at the head of the rebellion against Iturbide. When Iturbide abdicated though, it was this man who helped Iturbide sail away on the British ship H.M.S. Rowllins. Guadalupe Victoria was also the head of the resistance when Spanish soldiers garrisoned at Fort San Juan De Ulúa in Vera Cruz fired on the port. Negotiating an armistice, he allowed the Spanish soldiers there to be sent home to Spain, reversing the literary symbolic ship in Morales’ poem. When Iturbide fell, a triumvirate took over, hence the religious reference

²⁵ Ample information may be found in DeVolder, as well as the collection of research materials gathered for his book held at Tulane.

above to the Holy Trinity, or perhaps some form of Masonic code if Mexía was somehow involved.

Those three men, Victoria, Nicolás Bravo and Pedro Celestino were the executive power until Guadalupe Victoria was sworn in as Mexico's first president in October 1824. The dedicatory after the sonnet is five months later, February 28, 1825, recognizing these historical figures as the three who made one in the triumphant Guadalupe. Also, the significance of the choice of Guadalupe from the name of Mexico's patron saint is pointed out in the last line of the sonnet: "Del grande GUADALUPE la VICTORIA" (55). It is to be noted that he used all capital letters, rejected the apocopate adjectival form *gran*, and inserted the masculine article to change the meaning to Guadalupe Victoria's victory.

This religious refiguration was not uncommon in liberal rhetoric. Alcalá Galiano cited a procession in Spain similar to religious ones in Holy Week. Instead of the Christ figure, an image of the Virgen Mary, or the saints, the liberals carried the image of Riego with the book of the Constitution in one hand and a chain for the absolutist priests in the other (Zavala 19).

The sonnet from the editor, which follows the drama, referred to Guadalupe Victoria, president of the United States of Mexico, as his "Mecenas generoso" 'generous Patron'. The note at the end was signed Juan José Manuel Ximénez del Río, the 28th of February, 1825." The author apologized for using the same vehicle that Calderón and Moreto used "...tan sólo porque con el prestigio del teatro se perpetuaban las tiránicas instituciones..." '...only because the prestige of the theatre perpetuated the tyrannical institutions...' urging the "first magistrate" of Anahuac not to do the same (55). He vouches for the veracity of the actions described in the play, which reveal the barbarous acts of "Fernando the Cruel". He hopes the presentation of such a drama, even with the "art's vices" revealing "...so many recent catastrophes...", will reduce the influence of the tyrant to zero. "Este bien de tanto tamaño en días de gloria como los que nos esperan, consolidará la suerte de la nación mexicana y eternizará el nombre de su ilustre caudillo" 'This well-being of such stature in days of glory such as those

that await us, will consolidate the Mexican nation's will and make eternal it's illustrious leader's name'. (56).

This reference to the "art's vices" is a reference to the Juan Nicolás Böhl de Fáber vs. José Joaquín de Mora polemic over Calderón as a means to keep tyrants in power. This comment carries over to the idea of high culture or canonized literature as a mask for political control. For Benigno Morales wrote on the cover page of his *Carta* to his friend Mexía to remove the mask of, "los infames para que tales como son parezcan: caigan reputaciones usurpadas" 'the infamous so that they appear as they are: let stolen reputations fall'. Of course, this was in reference to the *anillo* intrigue that brought down the *comuneros* and sent him to his death and Mexía in exile. Read in a more universal way the problem of political action versus disinterested artistic endeavor comes into play. One hundred years later Spanish exiles would be forced to deal with the same thorny questions.

Lloréns commented on Mora's change of liberal as well as romantic heart from the beginnings of the quarrel with Böhl de Faber in 1813 and during his time imprisoned in France (351). Also he sees Böhl's stance as a rigid position taken by a German consul who as a foreigner came "desde fuera a dar una lección de patriotismo a quienes habían probado el suyo con creces" 'from outside to give a patriotism lesson to those who had dearly proven their's' (352). Besides the religious aspect already pointed out by Schlegel, the limits placed on reason and mechanical abilities were at the root of the problem according to Lloréns. Mora and Alcalá Galiano's position didn't depend on a lack of faith, but was rather literarily based. Lloréns said they both admired Fray Luis de León as an antithesis to culteranismo. Lloréns was of the opinion that the problem was the similarity of Gongora's poetry to Churriguera art. Lloréns cited the "sensateces" 'sensible statements' that Mora said about Kant that infuriated Böhl. He maintained it was Mora's poor translation.

The relationship of the "politics of Spanish romanticism" (Silver, 75) to New World politics lies in Silver's statement that Spain's Romantic movement was "conservative-Liberal." The majority were conservative: "Francisco Martínez

de la Rosa, Agustín Durán, the Duque de Rivas, Fernán Caballero, Gustavo Adolfo Bécquer, and José Zorilla y del Moral. The 'Liberal' cultural views of Mariano José de Larra and the libertarian politics of José de Espronceda" (79) were the only two liberal literary voices, according to Silver. Others would beg to differ. Seoane said that long before Victor Hugo would make his connection of liberalism with romanticism, others had spoken out. According to Seoane, José Joaquín de Mora had converted to English Romanticism around 1823.

Keeping in mind that as a prisoner in France during the War for Independence Mora had no opportunity to play up his liberal tendencies, Seoane pointed out his use of the word *romántico* as early as June 26, 1818. Like Alcalá Galiano who also converted in his literary life in the polemic against Böhl de Faber who was so enthusiastic for Calderón, classicism meant all of the principles inherited from the prior century of enlightenment. Mora also spoke at La Fontana de Oro, a café that housed a very popular tertulia for the Liberal *exaltados* including Félix Mexía, Alcalá Galiano and other notables.

Mora and his intimate friend born in Veracruz, Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza y Cepeda, were editors with Félix Mexía of *El Correo General de Madrid* according to Lloréns (31). Del Río included Mora at the head of both *El Español Constitucional* and the *Ocios de Españoles Emigrados* (98). Seoane said that by 1820 the liberals were in control of the government and Mora's newspaper changed names from the *Crónica* to *El Constitucional*. Mora defined his posture years later by noting: "el liberalismo es en la escala de las opiniones políticas lo que el gusto clásico es en las literarias" 'liberalism is on the scale of public opinión what classical taste is in literary opinion' (Seoane 118).

Chapter 4

The Political Allegory: *La Fayette en Monte Vernon*

The previous chapter exposed veiled political commentary in the historical tragedy *Riego* that qualified as political allegory. The exposition of the secret conspiratorial ring that resulted in the betrayal of the historical figure Riego, as Spain's patriot son, by his political father King Ferdinand VII, was only one level of meaning. That betrayal of the native son by his father was the true historical inversion of the father Carlos IV's betrayal by his son Ferdinand VII. The allegorical reading of *Riego* included, among other characters, those representing the Inquisition, the Spanish judiciary, and the Spanish Constitution of 1812. Mexía becomes the character Félix in a fictional drama very related to the real life drama of his exile. In *Riego*, exile becomes a form of death in a romantic heroic gesture when the dramatist Félix resurrects himself as the military hero Félix. Mexía's exile dramas become a deciding identity factor since they speak to his artificial life in an artificial homeland. The writer felt this absence strongly enough to identify his condition with death, the death of his coeditor Morales, Riego, many liberal patriots, and the death of his beloved Constitution of 1812, after the collapse of the Triennium in 1823. The use of the author's persona as a character, prefiguring Galdos's use of the same, is an early example of a dramatized narrator, a precursor of techniques more rightly attributed to later realist prose, and to later developments in drama and the visual arts.

Dedicatory to Francisco Espoz y Mina

There is the possibility *La Fayette* served as a fundraiser for a specific revolutionary cause or as a warning of some specific conspiracy by way of an acrostic, but that is not part of this open reading. The importance of this work in

United States literary space bases itself upon the fact that the work constitutes a “symbolic social act.” Borrowing the term Frederic Jameson employed, *La Fayette* represents such a “symbolic social act,” by the refiguration of the class conflict during the uprisings in Spain as a romantic American revolutionary history of democratic individualism confronting a privileged English aristocracy, though this conflict actually occurred almost a half-century earlier.

La Fayette reflects the romantic *I* of politically committed artistic endeavors. Written in newspaper style format, employing eighteenth-century neoclassic rhetoric, this play reflects Mexfa’s desire to immortalize a Spanish general in much the same way the Greek epic allowed for its hero to be consecrated and magnified through death (Foucault 139). The inverse process in *La Fayette* created a written romantic discourse that, in effect, transferred the personal characteristics of the immortal Founding Fathers George Washington and Alexander Hamilton to the Marquis de La Fayette, the “European American Founding Father,” allowing all founding fathers to become symbols for Spanish revolutionaries.

Characters and Syntagmatic Historical Correspondences in *La Fayette*:

The Romanticized American Republican Family

A basic summary of this short two-act drama and a list of characters allows for their historical/allegorical disposition. There are only five dramatic characters, including the star historical figure, the Marquis de La Fayette. The other four characters are Mr. Custis, relative of George Washington; Hamilton, an old soldier; Margaret, his wife; and Robinson, a young man. The first act, scene one involves Margaret and Hamilton’s preparations to go see their beloved General La Fayette. In the second scene, the young Robinson accompanies Margaret and Hamilton to the riverside near Mount Vernon. In scene three, Custis stands on the banks of the Potomac, with the rest of Washington’s relatives and the general populace, including both men and women, to view the sailboat sent to meet La Fayette’s steam boat. La Fayette disembarks to the jubilation of the crowd in the fourth scene. (13). Custis greets the famous French patriot La Fayette, then La Fayette sees his old compatriot from the American Revolution,

Hamilton, and runs towards him with open arms. La Fayette and Hamilton walk hand-in-hand towards Mount Vernon to the tune of a patriotic hymn to finish the first act.

The second act, scene one, is a crowd scene, including all of the named characters and the other unnamed mixed group of citizens, in front of Mount Vernon. Custis opens the doors to the salon with a grand gesture, allowing general admittance to those citizens. La Fayette receives a laurel made by Margaret, whom he immediately recognizes as the wife of his faithful Hamilton and he remembers her labors during the war assisting the wounded (17). The second scene of this act takes place before Washington's tomb where Custis and La Fayette praise Washington. Afterwards, Custis presents La Fayette with a ring containing a lock of Washington's hair. Hamilton and Margaret open the first scene of act two. Hamilton tells La Fayette that despite Margaret's ill health and doctor's orders not to leave the house; it is beyond Hamilton's power to keep her quiet. Both Custis and La Fayette deliver long soliloquies full of passion, which classically befit their social stature, while Hamilton and Margaret speak as simple humble folk. These are not human characters though. Flat and neoclassical, they obviously represent something more than figures cited in a newspaper account of a visiting dignitary.

An unnamed chorus marks the collective conscience and announces the action in a progressive manner from the end of the first act to the final scene. That collective conscience is hidden in the history behind the simple word *coro*. A chorus of Spanish voices is behind the story of the heroic hymns at the end of each act. The play concludes at George Washington's tomb that becomes Olympus, where Washington and other heroes appear in an ode to the great men of the nineteenth century (29). While the playwright does not name the heroes, with the aid of the list of authentic names written in the actual arch built for La Fayette's arrival to New Orleans, the following names come to mind: "Warren, DeTousaud, Hamilton, Duportaille, Putnam, D'Estaing, Knox, Polosky, Montgomery, Degrasse, Gates, Rochambeau, Lee, DeKalb, Green and Koskiusco" (Fossier 495). Fossier also noted the names of the signers of the

Declaration of Independence inside the arch. The drama closes with a call to all patriots in the form of a nationalistic hymn.

The characters include a mix of social classes to make up the romanticized American Republican family. Custis holds a place in the family as Washington's relative. Washington's portrayal as the good father, the patriot king, gives way to La Fayette's refiguration as the good son to Margaret as the Constitution, the good wife to Hamilton, the good husband and founding father.

Brookhiser has commented on the historical situation of Washington to La Fayette and Hamilton (165). Since he had no descendents, Washington looked to his stepchildren and step-grandchildren. His staff during the Revolutionary War became his "family." He was father to a number of his officers. La Fayette lost his father in combat when he was only two and Hamilton's father left his unwed mother when he was just 10. La Fayette was an impressionable nineteen when he met the venerable forty-five year old Washington and Hamilton was only twenty-two. Brookhiser says La Fayette and Washington "slept under one blanket after the Battle of Monmouth" (166). The long-term companionship between Washington and Hamilton has been cited by a number of historians. Brookhiser quotes Washington regarding his personalization of his desire for peace for "millions yet unborn" that reflected a kind of "adoption" of all of the "bizarros hijos" 'dashing sons' as his own offspring (167). Brookhiser also quotes a book by Seneca, found in Washington's library, on the role of fathers. Washington represents a real father, more than just a "natural" parent, who wills himself to follow through (161).

Washington, although not listed as *dramatis persona*, is a constant presence in *La Fayette*. He is present as an enlightened spirit dwelling in his tomb at Mount Vernon, always ready to be summoned as an elite source of virtue and wisdom. He is the king desired by eighteenth and early nineteenth-century freemasons, a wise and caring father. Washington was the beloved liberator of his people. His respected authority is in direct contrast to Ferdinand VII, *el rey deseado*, who represents the dark side of that tutelary angel Washington. Ferdinand VII is the other unlisted constant specter. Every reference to tyranny or

oppressor in *La Fayette* is directed to Ferdinand VII who betrayed his real father Carlos IV, his nation-family that desired to fight for him with the patriot son Riego, and exiles in and out of Spain.

Mexía had filled the pages of *El Zurriago* with satirical commentary regarding the King's lack of good faith as the father of what was proposed to be a limited constitutional monarchy. The historical tragedy *Riego* detailed the rebellion led by Riego among the troops at Cádiz destined to leave for America. Many of the discontented soldiers had been drafted unfairly after already performing their military service. They followed Riego to Madrid where they were met by King Ferdinand VII with the King's famous statement later parodied by Larra: "Marchemos francamente, y yo el primero, por la senda constitucional" 'We march quite honestly and I the first, on the constitutional path' (10 Ullman). As Pierre Ullman points out, Larra was just an eleven-year-old child at the time, but at the age of twenty-one, he satirized the emblematic breach of faith and destruction of the monarchical illusion the people wanted to believe. Larra had rewritten the King's treachery as "Marchemos todos francamente, y yo el primero..." "por la senda de presidio" 'on the path to prison' (Larra 2: 194) and "Marchemos todos francamente..." "y yo el último, por la senda del extranjero" 'and I the last, on the road to foreign lands' (2: 321). In the case of the two liberal editors, Morales and Mexía, the words reflected their reality. Morales ended up on the path to prison, finally dying in front of a firing squad, and his friend and coeditor Mexía ended up as an exile in Philadelphia.

The real life Alexander Hamilton served with *La Fayette* as a brother revolutionary soldier. Mexía speaks as the dramatic narrator, Custis, to a young everyman Robinson. The allegorical vision in the form of a dedication at the beginning to General Espoz y Mina sets the stage for every Spanish revolutionary hero to be refigured as the United States Founding Father.

The good wife, the Constitution, and her husband, the old revolutionary soldier Hamilton, live on the banks of the Potomac. A humble cottage provides an idyllic shelter for this allegorical couple. While his more moderate political colleagues in Spain were looking for political medieval felicity, Mexía chose to

look farther in the past to a classical format, Greco-Roman allegory, to depict the romantic in his own political time period during his United States exile. It was still an illusory, romanticized past that would allow for the personality of a deceased United States political aristocrat, Alexander Hamilton, to become a common soldier, in the same way that Mexía's beloved General Espoz y Mina could be consecrated through George Washington's death and La Fayette's life.

The particular Greek or Roman gods are not so important here as the overall allegorical strategy that allowed humans to interact with the gods. A case could be made for indigenous gods, as a variety of folktales indicate. Mythological personalities with all their special characteristics could become concepts or principles that could then stand for specific philosophical or ethical viewpoints. Alexander Hamilton was a historical figure whose "death on the dueling field had stated that men of his station placed the highest value on their public presence" (Hanyan 209). That heroic death after earlier military and political service to his country earned him a spot as founding father/revolutionary brother.

Margaret as the United States Constitution: the Good Wife and Mother

The representation of a political constitution first as Teresa in *Riego*, then as Margaret, the dedicated wife of the eighty-seven year old soldier Hamilton, mimics the Greek staging of masked personalities as abstract principles. Although ill, confined to her bed by the doctor, she is still strong enough to tell her husband in no uncertain terms she will also go to meet the beloved La Fayette (6). She admonishes her husband to take care of his own health in a minor display of individual autonomy against authority, as well as concern for her spouse. An inkling of constitutional consent and contract wrapped around revolutionary ideology and freedom of conscience are perceptible in the short exchange between husband and wife. Keeping in mind the date of the drama and the prevalent patriarchal attitude, she not only reveals a mildly liberal tendency in the absence of restraint of her speech, but also shows a capacity for action that only the written words of the Constitution could provide. The establishment of a modern written constitution was a very important part of the nation-building

process. Oscar and Mary Handlin in their seminal study of the design of power defined liberty not as a lack of controls, but rather a potential for action (7). In keeping with the allegory, the dramatic characters, neither Margaret nor Hamilton, has titles or full names.

Hayden White, quoting Hegel, acknowledges the basis for this kind of dramatization “by a shared ‘internal vital principle’”, which is “politics.” “Family memorials, patriarchal traditions, have an interest confined to the family and the clan...It is the state that first presents a subject matter that not only is *adapted* to the prose of history but involves the production of such history in the very progress of its own being” (*Content* 29). Historical discourse, “the content (or referent)” is not the real account of past happenings, as White says, but rather mediation between “a public present and a past that a state endowed with a constitution made possible” (29). This mediation provides a certain ambiguity to history and the political constitution to allegorically become Margaret. White, again quoting Hegel, acknowledges the “outward existence of a political constitution enshrined in its rational laws and customs as an imperfect present that cannot be thoroughly understood without knowledge of the past” (29).

Mexía's real past was the historical tragedy critiqued in the previous chapter where Teresa, as the beleaguered Spanish Constitution of 1812, was suppressed when her husband Riego was imprisoned. The United States Constitution as Margaret, battle-worn, but alive, enters the patriarch's Washington's home along with all the citizens of different classes. La Fayette comments on her motherly concern for the young soldiers of the Revolutionary days. The old soldier Hamilton addresses La Fayette as his general, telling him of the cost to maintain that old lady constitution, who “*está hecha ya un emplasto*” ‘has become nothing more than a bandage.’ It takes two thirds of Hamilton's military pension just to pay the medical bills. Still, Margaret is strong enough to come out despite doctor's orders to the contrary. As Hamilton says, who could keep her back? Hamilton assures, “No he podido lograr que se esté quieta” ‘I've not been able to keep her quiet’ (17).

The bonds of matrimony are reemphasized later in the drama in the form of a ring that is presented to La Fayette by Custis:

En todas las edades fue el emblema
De unión de corazones y al presente
Simboliza el afecto que os profesa
El pueblo americano. Trasmítidlo
A vuestros sucesores...
In all of the ages it was the emblem
Of union of hearts and the present
Symbolizes the affection you profess
For the American people. Pass it on to
Your heirs (20)

There is an important twist on the meaning here of the ring when Custis reminds La Fayette that this sacred keepsake will be emblematic of his virtue and good deeds. As a sacred relic, the ring is imbued with special metonymic weight. The lock of hair from the dead Washington takes on significance as a synecdoche (a rhetorical figure where the part is substituted for the whole). The ring will represent La Fayette's union with the Founding Father or with Liberty for all eternity. The power of the ring is revealed in its ability to transcend this world in order to reveal where it was received:

Recordarán...y que la recibisteis
No en palacios de reyes donde...
La vanidad y pompas de la vida
Si no es ante la tumba que conserva
De Washington...
They will remember...and that you received it
Not in the kings' palaces where...
The vanity and pomp of life
But rather before the tomb that conserves
Of Washington...(20)

With these lines Mexía ironically takes us back to another time and place when the “anilleros” ‘those involved in the ring conspiracy’ played out the dramatic historic conspiracy in the Spanish palace. La Fayette on the other hand will receive his ring in a sacred place supposedly free of hypocrites, turncoats, spies, and those who would stab you in the back. The hearts of all free men are the sepulcher of Washington, and happiness serves as the writing on the tombstone. Washington’s tomb, as well as the one Custis proposes to erect for La Fayette, become the depository of eternal peace where the supreme power will honor and immortalize the heroes. The use of this literary device in the tradition of Boccaccio, Cervantes, and Shakespeare serves to decode the ring’s sentimental symbolic value on a farcical level. Through love in marriage and patriotic love of country the value is positive, but it becomes negative in connection with the monstrous scheme of betrayers described in the Riego drama in the preceding chapter.

Following Giambattista Vico, Hayden White identifies poetic irony as one of the four main figurative modes that may be used in historical interpretations to “prefigure” a certain set of circumstances (404). Such is the case here where the ring actually prefigures a number of paradigms in terms of the significant relationship of its symbolic value. As an extended metaphor, in the sense that White describes, the ring does not image just one thing, but rather gives direction only (402). That direction points to historical circumstances. There was a historical presentation made of a medallion with a lock of hair to La Fayette for him to take to South America to present to that other Founding Father, Simón Bolívar.

Keeping in mind a comment by Seoane that Félix Mexía enjoyed using “a modo de los predicadores populares, cuentecillos folklóricos en sus discursos...en La Fontana” ‘like the popular preachers, short little folktales in his speeches...in The Fountain (Madrid café)’ (160), another image comes to mind within the “culturally encoded experience” (White 402). There is a common folk tale, related by James Frazer, concerning a country overrun by a “many-headed serpent, dragon” that will destroy the people if they do not provide the monster with a

human victim. Usually the victims are virgins who must be delivered at certain intervals to appease the monster. After many have died, the daughter of the king must give her life. After exposure to the monster, a young man, usually of common background, intervenes, kills the monster and takes the princess for his bride (146).

This specific tale can be explained on a more general narrative level. The Russian Formalist Vladimir Propp, in his 1928 *Morphology of the Folktale*, reduced the structure of all folk tales to seven types of action with thirty-one fixed elements. Frazer's tale in that case becomes the quest. The need to right a wrong requires a hero to be involved in any number of actions or trials, such as a voyage away from home, victorious battles, the triumphant return home with more difficulties encountered, and finally the hero recognized and the villain punished. The happy ending is the marriage to the virgin, for example, or the attainment of some other appropriate prize.

Considering the description of the real historical triumphal arch built for La Fayette's arrival in New Orleans on April 5, 1825, this is not an unlikely portrayal. The columns were said to represent liberty. The normal depiction was as a young, beautiful woman resembling the United States Statue of Liberty. Delacroix painted her as a bare-breasted beauty leading men of all ages in "Liberty Guiding the People" (1830), in a scene that could have illustrated Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. She was "...bearing in her right hand Strength, with which she was bearing upon the many headed monster..." (Fossier 495). In this fictive historical transcoding, the pure "naïve ...chronicle" according to White moves through the positive metonymic use of the ring to symbolize the virgin bride liberty converted to the matronly Constitution, who is strong enough to share in an old soldier's pains. La Fayette also recognizes her as the one who "con el mayor afán....con el cuidado de una madre compasiva y tierna..." 'with the greatest care...with a compassionate and tender mother's care' (17) took care of the wounded in the war.

Hamilton as Alexander Hamilton: Founding Father Refigured as Humble Old Soldier/Good Husband to the Constitution

The old soldier who married liberty, then defended the Constitution--as Margaret--represents a real life figure, Alexander Hamilton, who served as Secretary of Treasury in Washington's administration. Born in the West Indies, Smith says he was constantly seeking upward mobility to escape his background as an illegitimate son of a French Huguenot mother and a Scottish merchant father (50). Smith also noted Hamilton loved a fight and lived for the glory of his wartime escapades. He embraced abolitionism, but "challenged Jefferson's worship of the Enlightenment deities Newton, Bacon, and Locke by declaring to his face that Julius Caesar was the greatest man in all history" (51). Hamilton was a self-made aristocrat by his own acknowledgement. Hamilton insisted a universal human desire is "personal reward" and the role of government was to make this "interest coincide with duty" (52).

Hamilton was the author, along with John Jay and James Madison in 1787, of the *Federalist Papers*. This series of eight volumes of essays, written in response to a series of newspaper articles by a certain "Cato," defended principles of government later supported by Thomas Jefferson. Among other things, the articles pointed out the problems with the Articles of Confederation, specifically citing the need for a strong national government.

In 1792, Hamilton responded to attacks by Jefferson's editor at the *Nation's Gazette*, using a variety of aliases, "Amicus, Metellus and A Plain Honest Man," to defend his public policy. According to Hamilton, paper money, speculative capital, and national debt were good policies designed to bring European money to the United States to increase purchasing power and circulation of capital (Smith 140). Hamilton insisted his financial plans disputed the "hereditary privilege of large landowners" and made factories more important than farms. According to Smith, Americans owe the dispersal of wealth and a material way of life to this man portrayed in *La Fayette* as a humble old soldier (141)

Philadelphia was the site of the first ratifying convention and had long been considered the colonial Mecca for revolutionaries. Newspapers across the country printed Federalist and anti-Federalist articles. The anti-Federalist concerns were that a few wealthy families would control the government. Those well-born aristocrats would become a power far-removed from the poor illiterate people. Lawyers, men of learning, and moneyed men would only be protecting their class interests. Some news articles written by these anti-Federalists suggested that the new Constitution would put pagans and deists in the government, and initiate our own Inquisition-type torture for federal crimes, and that the Pope could even be elected president! In the Constitution, the establishment of the separation of church and state prevented these anti-Federalist nightmares. The separation of these political entities in the fledgling United States prevented the type of alliances so overt throughout European ecclesiastical history. The religious wars prevalent on the other side of the Atlantic never took place on the same scale in the United States. The anti-Federalist concern, based on Montesquieu's argument that such a vast territory with different peoples and climates could not be a single republican state, was that the Constitution would not allow for just representation with the wealthy, propertied class oppressing the poor and working classes. Madison would later use this argument for territorial expansion in the form of "manifest destiny" (10). Mexía addressed European constitutional concerns as passionately as the authors of the Federalist papers.

The old soldier Hamilton's words recall the famous duel of Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr in 1804 when Hamilton was killed:

HAMILTON. ¿No se acuerda vuestra merced. ya de la casaca que me dio cuando estábamos cercados y a Albemarle marchamos?

LA FAYETTE. Sí me acuerdo y de la mala noche que pasamos; pero ya las fatigas de la guerra en jubilo y placeres se han cambiado.

HAMILTON. No la he cuidado mal, cuando parece que está nueva después de tantos años. ¡Con ella han de enterrarme!

HAMILTON. Don't you remember sir, the jacket you gave me
when we were surrounded and marching to Albemarle?

LA FAYETTE. Yes I remember and the bad night we spent; but
the fatigues of war have changed to jubilation and
pleasures.

HAMILTON. I have not treated it badly, when it appears to be new
after so many years. I will be buried in it!

The exchange implies Hamilton's support of a strong national government, which was not so far removed from Lafayette's desire for a moderate monarchy. Aaron Burr was the third vice president of the United States and, more importantly, the leader of the old Republican Party. It was this circumstance that caused the animosity with the decidedly Federalist Alexander Hamilton. When Burr ran against Thomas Jefferson in 1800, they received the same number of electoral votes. Article II, Section two of the United States Constitution provided for a decision by the House of Representatives. Jefferson was chosen president and Burr became vice president. Because of attacks by Hamilton for many years, Burr did not win the nomination as the vice president in 1804 and also failed to be elected governor of New York ("Burr" *Encarta* 98).

La Fayette: the Aristocratic Romantic American Son Comes Home

La Fayette took part in the colonists' struggle against Great Britain, and also played a prominent part in the French Revolution. In tying this famous figure to Latin America, the actual gold medallion that Mexía describes in this allegorized "historical fiction" was presented afterwards by the Frenchman to Simón Bolívar. In the drama, Mexía plays the role of Custis. In actuality, it was George Washington P. Custis, a relative of George Washington, who requested that La Fayette present the medallion to the South American hero. *Como se ligan las revoluciones y sus hombres: Washington, Bolívar, Miranda, La Fayette (How Revolutions and Men are Related)* includes a photograph of the statue in Venezuela that displays Bolívar with the medallion around his neck. (Vegas Rolando 24).

In 1778, when the United States allied with France against Great Britain, Great Britain declared war against France. Returning to France, La Fayette helped secure both financial and military aid for the American cause. In 1780 he came back to serve in the Virginia campaign. After Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in 1781, he left for France; returning to the United States in 1784, he was received as a hero. In another example of the two-way exchange of constitutional ideology, La Fayette supported a bill of rights based on the American Declaration of Independence during the French Revolution. He was a member of the French National Assembly in 1789.

When the monarchy was overthrown and the assembly impeached, La Fayette fled to Belgium, like many others. As an exile, La Fayette also played a fundamental role in financial support of liberal journalism. Seoane cited his protection of Andrés Borrego in the publication of such a newspaper in Spain (190). His republican activities cost La Fayette years of prison.

The biographer Brand Whitlock, one of many who wrote about La Fayette, affirmed that it was La Fayette's favorite claim that he was an American himself, even though it was simply an illusion on his part. La Fayette defined and identified his liberal principles when he called them American (xvi).

La Fayette's Visit to the United States as Political Allegory

The historical narrative of the Marquis de La Fayette's actual trip to the newly formed United States Republic from 1824 to 1825 becomes the vehicle that moves this political allegory. The very fact that the author wrote in a journalistic style, reporting the actual historic events, set the stage for an allegorical interpretation, beginning with the nostalgic desires of Mexía as an exile in a foreign land. The issues of authority and power of the exile writer, considered earlier, are a decisive factor in Mexía's presence in this political allegory in the form of the character Custis. His conversion of the events to a fictional drama, which can be superimposed on historical events both in the United States and Spain, allows for a literary-historical palimpsest.

In 1826 Félix Mexía, a liberal nineteenth-century Spaniard, was a political exile in Philadelphia. His geographical location in this new space is less important

than the meta commentary in his text that suggested a violation of reigning values based on class conflicts in Spain that had scarcely begun in Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The social structure of that Spanish nineteenth-century society could not really support Mexía's allegorized ideal of his Spanish heroes. The play was written and translated just after the historic visit of the Marquis de La Fayette, French moderate liberal, defender of social reform in his own country, to Washington D.C.

A reflection of the nation-family welcoming home a loving and loved parent with a military backdrop, afforded by La Fayette's visit, is part of the reading of *La Fayette*. That carefully staged reenactment of La Fayette's revolutionary glory provided an opportunity to capitalize on military heritage as the state of New York dealt with setting up political rules based on the state's new constitution. Mexía employed La Fayette's powerfully dramatic trip to move sequentially to an exile's idyllic notion of his own yesterday in an American Revolution, couched in Greco-Roman antiquity. He then returned to the news account format of that specific historical happening, to comment as a fictional character. The power of the theatrical ceremony surrounding the welcoming of the United States' aristocratic revolutionary hero allowed for an analogy of a family-like community welcoming home their father.

In 1824, La Fayette was invited by President James Monroe to visit the United States.²⁶ He was received in town after town as a hero, visiting all twenty-four states of the Union, from Maine to Missouri. He traveled with his son, George Washington La Fayette. Also traveling with him was his secretary, Auguste Levasseur, who luckily enough kept a diary of the trip (4). After he left New York City in August 1824 in a horse carriage, he was carried by barge to Brooklyn. A literary highlight of the voyage was the excitement of a particular fifteen-year old boy by the name of Walt Whitman who was in the crowd of thousands to greet him on that day (4). The actual circumstances portrayed in

²⁶ For a summarized, but still sufficiently detailed itinerary of his trip through the United States see <http://www.Ossar.org/lafayett.html>. The details provided in this paragraph are taken from that account by Charles Eugene Claghorn III.

Mexía's drama occur later in the itinerary. On October 12, La Fayette visited President James Monroe at the White House (4).

He also visited Martha Parkes Custis, the granddaughter of Martha Washington. He was feted in Alexandria, returned to Washington, and afterwards went down the Potomac on the steamship Petersburg accompanied by John C. Calhoun, then Secretary of War (6). In *La Fayette*, the young man Robinson comments on these historical specifics referring to General Washington as "our beloved father and liberator" (7). Robinson also points out Mr. Custis will be there with all of the other "dashing sons of Monte Vernon" (7). "La Fayette visited the tomb of Washington at Mount Vernon then left for Yorktown, where he was greeted by Chief Justice John Marshall." (6).

That visit to the tomb was an important one. George Washington held a special spot in the heart of all nineteenth-century revolutionaries and La Fayette was his political son, as well as a founding father in his own right. It was the identity of the patriotic good son, Mr. Custis a relative of Washington, which Mexía chose as his dramatic narrator. That role was a rejection of the bad son, Ferdinand VII, who betrayed his own father Carlos IV.

Finding Dewitt Clinton's speech attached to Mexía's *Encíclica* provided the clue that led to the United States People's Movement of 1824. Reading about that political staging of La Fayette's trip to give special meaning to Clinton's campaign facilitated the explanation of the political allegory behind *La Fayette*. The importance of providing a remembrance of the glory days of the American Revolution became apparent in Paul and Mary Hanyan's description of Clinton's consecration of La Fayette as a founding father/brother, a beloved parent/sibling returning home to check on his citizen children/siblings (212). As he and La Fayette stood between busts of the dead Washington and Hamilton, Clinton grew in political stature by association with General La Fayette as "a noble friend and benefactor" to the young United States republic (206). La Fayette's visit allowed Clinton the same relationship Mexía pursued as a dramatic narrator--to shine in the glory of the military and revolutionary unity of the United States founding fathers and of European heroic liberalism (208). The Hanyans spoke of the

importance of the military backdrop in giving credence to a virtuous, wise, and honorable political elite who would lead as responsibly as that Revolutionary War generation. That political responsibility and respectability would result in prosperity for the common good of the United States; it is the same type of responsibility that causes a father to safeguard his family and make them prosper (207).

The Hanyans also detail how the women of New York came out in mass to cheer the hero La Fayette. A particular woman educator named Emma Willard took advantage of the occasion to create a special musical tribute to La Fayette. La Fayette visited Willard's girls' school where the young girls sang of their pleasure in greeting their hero La Fayette "by the tender name of father" as "daughters of Columbia" (209). Méxía took advantage of a European hero basking in the admiration and gratitude of an entire nation, to represent his own heroes and himself by association.

The Illusion of a Liberal Spain as a Classical American Republic

While there existed in the nineteenth century a transgression of many of the old systems, laws and traditions, not all of those who arrived in the New World were willing to abandon their origins to adapt to the new space. Some felt the need to recreate their past in such a way as to embrace the new form of democratic individualism espoused by the upstart independent colonies in the United States. Scott Bradfield documented the existence of a recodification of European class struggles in United States literature in situating the American romance. He cited Foucault and Nietzsche concerning man's desire to transgress the borders of the known: laws, acquired cultures, accepted morality and established government (xi).

In his essay "What is an Author?" Foucault considered the relationship between an author and his writing and the way a text indicates this figure who precedes the work and remains unseen. "In reality it doesn't matter who speaks," Foucault tells us. This notion is one of the fundamental ethical principles of literature used time after time, but never really completely true. Literature always involves a play of signs, which looks for a transgression or reversal of order that

can be accepted or manipulated. Writing is like a game that goes beyond its own rules and in the end abandons them, the Frenchman wrote. The essential task of this open reading of *La Fayette* is to reveal the metacommentary of this text. Working with non-canonical sources involves dealing with intertextuality and reading outside of the lines in order to produce this type of literary critique. Octavio Paz said that:

Liberalism was not a religion, but a utopian ideology; it fought rather than consoled; it replaced the notion of an other world with that of a terrestrial future. Above all, that reform movement was a negation, and its greatness resides on that fact. But what this negation affirmed—the principles of European liberalism—was a philosophy whose beauty was exact, sterile and, in the long run, empty.

Geometry cannot take the place of myth. (“Through the Grapevine: Rulfo, Garro, and National Allegory” 2/14/00).

This drama as the real life visit of the Marquis de La Fayette to the United States displays a metacommentary couched in the rhetoric of a new heroic age that defined a symbolic Spanish revolution. That revolution never took place because there was not a real change in the power structure of that country. Employing new revisionist social and cultural history methods, the social historian Jesús Cruz pointed out the hidden cultural relations of the private sphere dominant in nineteenth-century Spain. An old dominant group produced liberal politics and capitalist development that adapted new political ideas and established pragmatic positions, but never stopped controlling the reins of power (7).

In *La Fayette*, Félix Mexía’s desire was to allegorically refigure European political reorganization as a romantic American social revolution. Jesús Cruz points out that constitutional government does not necessarily mean equality under the law (22). This historian provided an interesting compilation of statistics to prove there was no new ascending bourgeois class in early nineteenth-century Spain. In his study, he employs data from another investigation of 549 families

that lived in Madrid and supported the uprisings of the eighteenth century to the middle of the nineteenth-century (14). With this quantitative information and his own inquiry into the everyday life practices of the social culture, he shows the paradoxical stance of the Spanish dominant elite.

Their private lives did not necessarily reflect their public support of new social systems. Their public defense of individualism and legal constitutional equality did not match their hidden social agenda based on advancement through friends, next of kin and special patronage. According to Cruz, this "private discourse" involved most areas of their social existence and prevented the modern political reforms necessary to modernize or liberalize Spanish society (14-15). The main thrust of Cruz's study suggests there was no rising middle class at this point, as Marxist critics have claimed.

That is the hallucination portrayed in the drama about La Fayette's visit to the United States. This delusion of the Spanish uprisings against Napoleon as an American revolution of democratic individualism against a privileged English aristocracy is not presented in a straightforward manner, but rather reflects the ambivalent nature of the liberal conflicts this author left behind in Spain.

In the first chapter the analogy was made to the Spanish texts produced during the censorship under Franco, in comparison to the same tightly controlled literary and political scenario under Ferdinand VII. Even though Blanco Aguinaga's article was directed to another generation of Spanish exiles, the resemblance to the dramatic exile texts in this work resides in the flight from censorship and political turmoil. The hidden political discourse and the pseudonym Mexía chose to use as a curtain to hide his personal political ideology, while engaging Mexican politics in Riego, set the stage for a better understanding of La Fayette. Because of the early dates of these dramas, their dual political and social messages were only practice performances for a future theatrical political culture that would spill over into all areas of social life.

Cruz used Pierre Bourdieu's definition of "habitus" as a series of internal structures of perception, of thought and action, which have a relative autonomy and which change more slowly than economic structures" (25). Cruz documented

very little change in those kinds of habits and customs in Madrid, even with the revolutionary changes occurring at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He posited that the changes in the legal system were insufficient to create a society based on individual liberty and equality of opportunity. This process required not only the assimilation of new political and legal forms, but also new values, attitudes and social behavior (7). The sum total of those parts equaled the assimilation of the old into a new culture, an easier adjustment for the North American colonists who were creating a new society, not just modifying an already existing societal structure.

The real shock would only come later in this country, as Bradfield has indicated, "...the anxiety Americans felt the day they realized they had inherited not only a powerful revolutionary propaganda but a vastly brooding slave population which might ask to borrow it sometime" (32). Although voices were beginning to be raised, those historic transgressions would not culminate until later. The United States Constitution of 1821 had set up high property qualifications for black free male voters. Even the generally anti-Southern People's Movement continued to cater to the pro-slavery doctrine continuing Martin Van Buren's accommodation of Southern strategy (Hanyan 284).

Founding Fathers: Group Identity in the Political Family

There is a small group today that pays religious homage to George Washington as a Bodhisattva, a being destined for enlightenment. This is, of course, not an orthodox Vietnamese Buddhist belief by any standard, as Dai Huynh pointed out, but, in the search for pride in all things national, the sky is the limit. John Otis wrote about President Hugo Chávez of Venezuela. That president has cloaked himself in the swashbuckling figure of the Founding Father Simón Bolívar with both image and word, in a symbolic exploitation specifically meant to appeal to national pride. Manuel Caballero, a Venezuelan historian says, "'Venezuelans aren't very religious. If you don't believe in God, it's no big deal. But if you say that you don't think much of Bolívar, people will really come down hard on you'" (qtd. in Otis). There is the "market rhetoric" of Chávez's oratory

when speaking in favor of the new constitution he calls the “Magna Carta” referred to by Ian Vásquez.²⁷

Meanwhile, in Laredo and Nuevo Laredo, people on both sides of the border have been celebrating Washington’s Birthday for over one hundred years with a Princess Pocahontas creating a multicultural tradition based on the Sons of Liberty. The Sons of Liberty called George Washington *Sachem* when the patriots disguised themselves as Indians as they planned colonial freedom. The establishment of a charter set up this most interesting patriotic celebration for people on both sides of a border. The purpose was to ritualize, sincretize, and allegorize historical events into a festive jubilee. The celebration has little to do with actual military, political, or historical significance of great men, battle cries, or battles. Rather, this commemoration of Washington’s Birthday has become a way to identify themselves as part of a specific political group.

The political allegory *La Fayette* served the same intention, to engrave in a dramatic newspaper account a permanent monument to Mexía’s hero General Francisco Javier Espoz y Mina. Custis does not propose a granite marker for Spanish heroes or himself. When all the great art has crumbled to ruins, Custis maintains, Washington’s goodness will remain inscribed on the happiness Custis observes in the United States.

The dramatic use of secular political messiahs and their opponent anti-Christ figures was the underlying message in Mexía’s works. In *La Fayette*, Mexía refigured the “leones furiosos que conducen en sus garras la muerte y el estrago” ‘ferocious lions that carry death and havoc in their claws’ to include all Spanish revolutionary heroes with an allegorical capital *H* (9). Specifically read through the European historical moment of the French invasion of Spain and the popular uprisings that followed, those lines referred back to the furious lions of Spain. The desire for freedom produced the Constitution of Cádiz in 1812 and the revolution of General Riego followed in 1820. In the *Carta*, Mexía’s friend and

²⁷ Vásquez is director of the Project on Global Economic Liberty at the Washington-based Cato Institute.

co-editor of *El Zurriago* in Spain, Benigno Morales, wrote him these words before dying in front of a firing squad in Almería:

Tiemblen las hordas del tirano,

Tiemblen los siervos de Luis,

Que el león terrible castellano

Destrozará la flor de lis:

Huid, huid franceses,

Dejad esta región

Donde os venció mil veces

La española nación

The tyrant's hordes tremble,

The servants of Louis tremble

That the terrible Castilian lion

Will destroy the fleur de lis

Flee, flee Frenchmen

Leave this region

Where the Spanish nation

Defeated you a thousand times (169-170).

La Fayette was not a fixed marker because of the time element implied by the use of dramatic allegory. The refiguration worked with a tension between plot and a romantic sentimental discourse to produce a heroic refiguration on different levels. Situating the text syntagmatically, that is, in time, reveals the political allegory paradigmatically, in the poetic space that is the political allegory buried under the basic schematic plot. This syntagmatic reading deals with Mexía's search for an identity in an idealized past and future, the historical characters he deployed in that allegory, and the referent history. The political allegory in *La Fayette* is a "symbolic social act" according to Jameson's model of the basic Marxist class struggle (75). Jameson's analogy of a work's effects to the rippling of a stone thrown in water fits the metonymic use of a ring in *La Fayette* that provides a circle of remembrances that takes the reader backward and forward in time from Spain's chaotic Triennium to an idealized America. Mexía's depiction

as a dramatic narrator and the characterization of the U. S. Constitution as the wife of a poor old soldier are the main romantic dramatic elements. *La Fayette's* trip, as a romantic dramatic vehicle to move the plot, required a staging still dependent on neoclassical musical verse.

This two-act drama in Spanish, published by Félix Mexía in 1824 and translated to English in 1825 by Chauncey Bulkley, Esq., is not significant because of its grand literary value. *La Fayette* serves rather as an important record of cultural and political history. The resurrection of political discourse in the form of a one hundred-seventy-five-year-old neoclassic historical drama may seem irrelevant. However, recognition of military hero-worship in politics as a religion and the imaginative invention of the political allegory present in this work have counterparts in today's culture.

Politics, culture, and religion often demonstrate a historical culture of basic beliefs reflected in canonical, as well as non-canonical, literary production. Clinton's political campaign highlights the dynamic nature of political discourse, intentionally designed to fit the particular circumstances; for instance, the establishment of a religion or cult, political campaign speeches, or holidays conceived for political reasons. Another example would be legal cases set up by lawyers or the major concern of this study, the discourse inside the story of a historical drama written for political reasons. An ancient rhetorical notion maintained truth as absolute and separate from the text itself. That thought was not totally unlike the Marxist theoretical path to locate hidden meaning, without the necessary class confrontation. Therefore, this researcher presumed it followed that by deconstructing *La Fayette* the underlying metacommentary could be revealed, allowing this text a way out of literary "limbo."

This work and others produced in both Spanish and English in the early nineteenth century reveal the chain of European events that linked the revolutionary and postcolonial period of this hemisphere and the other. The fledgling United States' national identity and that of other countries in this hemisphere were definitely formed on a backdrop of European insurgencies and

counter insurgencies. Karl Von Clausewitz, a nineteenth-century Prussian, said that war is simply politics by another means.

This historical drama provides a counterpoint to Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur's new American man, which R. W. B. Lewis discussed, disassociated with his old world past, an innocent Adam in the New World. This drama represents the other side of the nineteenth-century national identity, based on the American Revolution as the new heroic age, with the founding fathers rightfully justified in the aristocratic bellicose tendencies of the classical gods.

Lewis pointed out the historical importance of looking for "major pairs of opposed terms which, by their very opposition, carry discourse forward." He also conceded the very difficult task of defining the "American character and the life worth living" (3). In his comments on the historical work of the three outstanding nineteenth-century historians--William Hickling Prescott, Hubert Howe Bancroft, and Francis Parkman--he pointed out the unique moment in North American history between the last days of the colonial period and the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth-century. While some chose to forget Europe completely, Prescott held an opposing opinion (161).

But is it possible to imagine life in a New World without relying to some extent on the history of the old one? In the newly formed American republic, La Fayette's trip served as the colorful backdrop for commentary on the same agrarian democracy that the politician Clinton invoked through George Washington's memory and La Fayette's presence (212). As a Masonic High Priest, Clinton sought in his political dramatization the "patriarchal revolutionary authority" that was beginning to wane in the United States (182), but was still a popular artistic sentiment with European romantics, expressed in respect for manual labor and the idea of the patrician George Washington as a farmer patriot.

It is undeniable that the early United States republic was classical in its trappings. Stanley M. Burstein listed some of the most familiar references. The list included: the Roman eagle on the national seal; two quotes from Virgil also on the seal; the college campus; the establishment in the late eighteenth century of "the first Greek letter societies"; constant Greek and Roman historical allusions;

and Latin quotations and mottoes in magazines, newspapers, etc. (31). In *La Fayette*, the old American revolutionary soldier, Hamilton, echoed those most classic of words: “Y llegamos...y vimos...y...vencimos” ‘We came...we saw...we conquered’ describing the revolutionary battle in Virginia. (9). When Mr. Custis speaks of the honors to be bestowed on the Marquis de La Fayette, he affirms that not even “los cónsules romanos” received such distinctions (13). Burstein and others documented the similar use of classical rhetoric in familiar quotes such as “Give me liberty or give me death” (29). He mentions Patrick Henry and Nathan Hale’s use of lines from a “Roman martyr” in what he calls “a now unread and almost unreadable play, the *Cato* of Joseph Addison” (29). Surprisingly enough, George Washington used the same play to encourage morale among the troops at Valley Forge (29).

Just as the North American revolutionaries had reimagined their world employing republican philosophies on the classic Greek and Roman world, as Burstein noted, so did *La Fayette* occupy this same space with this idyllic notion of Spanish liberals and liberalism. The reflection of the power of war through the ages allows this play to become an ideological palimpsest that reflects the spectrum from Homer’s ideals of power and fame in the *Iliad* to the present day news articles cited above. Mexía lauds George Washington as a symbol of military power: the “último general de los que hubo en las falanges de la independencia...” ‘last general there was in the phalanxes of independence (20). The definition of phalanx as a body of troops in close array is revealing. In ancient Greece, the phalanx were bodies of heavily armed infantry that formed ranks or files closed deep with shields and joined by long spears overlapping. The general idea is that of individuals united for common purpose. While recognizing the implied relationship to a specific group or political party later in Spain, that detour is not part of this allegorical journey.

William Blake echoed the literary importance of war and its heroes in reference to Homer and the classics in referring to the violence of “that desolate Europe with wars” (*Iliad* xiv; translator’s preface). The tracks from Blake extend back through Spenser, Milton, and Dante, to the prophets of the Bible. Precedents

for Blake's thoughts can be found in the radical Protestant religions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe. Since Blake, like Wordsworth, Coleridge, Southey, and other religious radicals, was in favor of the French Revolution, the violence of the French Revolution became refigured as the purifying redemptive violence prophesied in the Bible that would redeem man and the world. The German philosophers during the same period were also representing man's fall from grace, or the problems of our modern culture as the alienation of man from himself and the world that surrounds him. The only hope for man was to reintegrate a transfiguration of the human self through the senses to a single humanity, forming a mythical brotherhood in universal form, and also through the human form being made divine before the apocalypse in an epic tradition. This type of hermetic Protestantism desired a mystical church within man's own vision of himself.

In this European liberal-ideological lexicon from a real and imagined past, *La Fayette* found classic imagery. Mexía looked to a past in a society of brotherhood that had deceived him. The difficult political situation in Spain that forced Mexía's exile resulted in an allegorical death. *La Fayette*, as a son who loved and respected Washington as a father, speaks to an idealized future in death. In a hero's death, real or allegorical, the exile would find life with the dead Washington. Although his soul is in the heavens, "Olympus", he has not died, but rather lives in that perfect utopia in the company of all dead heroes where light, glory, tranquility, and happiness are eternal:

Donde nunca se agota la alegría...

En donde se desprecian las riquezas...

Donde la muerte, las enfermedades,

Dolores, aflicciones, ni pobreza,

El temor, las discordias, los disgustos

Ni los enojos por jamás penetran...

Donde corren los años y los siglos

Y su felicidad es siempre nueva...

Where happiness is never exhausted

Where riches are spurned
 Where death, illness,
 Pains, afflictions, nor poverty
 Fear, discord, upsets
 Nor anger ever penetrate
 Where the years pass and the centuries
 And your happiness is forever new...(29)

Mr. Custis: Mexía as Editorializing Dramatic Narrator

The identification of Mr. Custis as the dramatic narrator relied on the precedent of Mexía as Félix in *Riego*. Identifying the author as dramatic narrator is a logical choice when the dramatic character not only bears the exiled author's name, but also portrays a romantic heroic desire to bring about change. While there was a real historical descendant of George Washington named Mr. Custis, he was historically unrelated to Félix Mexía. Establishing that fact and comparing Custis' speech to that of the other characters identifies him as Mexía. The possibility of producing change, even in simulated interaction with a historical dramatic figure, had to be a strong magnet for the exile Mexía. The romantic sentimental discourse of the dramatic narrator Custis represents a taped interview by Custis of La Fayette during his actual trip. Custis also dialogues with the young man Robinson, the founding father Alexander Hamilton, and his wife, Margaret, the United States Constitution in order to comment on the political situation in Spain. His romantic sentimental discourse ironically reflects his heroic stance in the same oratory of the Spanish *Cortes* he had satirized in *El Zurriago*.

Another clue to the identity of Custis is his reproach to those who chose to stay chained under Ferdinand VII:

millones de hombres infelices
 ante sus opresores se prosternan
 y humildes besan la terrible mano
 que remacha sus grillos y cadenas
 millions of unhappy men

before their oppressors prostrate
 and humble they kiss the terrible hand
 that rivets their cuffs and chains (28)

It is possible to identify a political discourse based on eighteenth-century reason and Enlightenment didacticism in a heroic tone that reflects the oratory of the *Cortes* in Spain. The expression of political ideas in allegorical form as reflected in Mexía's dramas found its base in the radical's need to defend and promote his subversive ideas employing words that Mariano José de Larra described as men. Larra compared the men of parliament in their political push and shove to worms in Roquefort cheese (*Obras* 122). That political oratory defined the men who manipulated the public world they inhabited.

James A. Epstein stressed the importance of "popular constitutionalism" as a language form for delivering plebian radical demands for democracy in the early nineteenth century. That author maintained this concept was consistently used among British patriots because of their Constitution's characterization as a "master fiction" (xii). Félix Mexía's two dramas reflect this same type of "popular constitutionalism" in the form of political theater that the oratory at *Cortes* represented. These political allegories appropriated the radical language of the Spanish *Cortes* by portraying in female form the Spanish Constitution of 1812 and the United States Constitution of 1789. The conspiracy that resulted in Mexía's allegorical death in exile allows him to enter these dramas to speak to his ideological issues, still utilizing the type of legal argument one would hear in a courthouse, or in Mexía's case, arguments he heard at La Fontana de Oro. Epstein commented on the implication of authorized language in legal cases, how the nineteenth-century radical effected his own linguistic area, just as a lawyer or judge maintains control by "fashioning strong defenses and telling compelling stories" about himself and his "nation's constitutional past" (viii).

In the same way, the liberal *exaltado* orator at *Cortes* used specific rhetorical devices to compel people to political action. The political allegory considered in the last two chapters communicates in the same universalizing patriotic symbols and rituals that Mexía employed in the theatrical, metaphorical,

and symbolic newspaper style language reminiscent of the oratory at the Spanish *Cortes*. Chapter three considered the formal ideological discourse of Mexía's *Encíclica*, that spoke against the Pope's encyclical, as well as satirical material from the two liberal newspapers edited by him and others before he was exiled from Spain.

Seoane followed the basic reform principles of national sovereignty from the writings of Rousseau and the French Constitution to the Spanish liberal's stand. She maintained that the more moderate Spanish revolutionaries based their ideology on historical tradition, as opposed to the French, who followed the pretensions of reason. She quoted the most notable speeches of the *Cortes* reverberating with an appropriate lexicon: "*renovación, restauración* (de las antiguas leyes), *reasunción* (de la soberanía por la nación)" 'renovation, restoration of old laws, resumption of sovereignty by the nation' (74). Her review of primary oratorical elements is significant because the word most often employed was *felicidad* in all of its forms. Happiness is a word and thought repeated by the dramatic narrator Custis. Seoane qualifies the political use of the word as the pursuit of eighteenth-century material felicity. She cited Paul Hazard, who found eighteenth-century book titles that abounded with the references to felicity--in French, Italian, English, and German (80).

In Cádiz, the liberals at the *Cortes* appropriated the words of the French Revolution but employed them for more moderate and conservative purposes. They had to deal with double tyranny: the French from outside and their own despot Ferdinand VII within. While they fought for *independencia* from the French, they also sought *libertad* from their own monarch in the form of constitutional rights. Rather than imitating French actions, the journalists of the Triennium appeared to have imitated their political discourse. They used verbal "asonadas" 'violent protests or attempted coup', an ancient device that was revived to describe the type of political speeches used to rally excitement among the general populace according to Seoane (144). It followed that the sovereignty of the King was a usurpation or abuse of power since only the nation was sovereign. By the nineteenth century, the concept of a sovereign nation was well

defined. The very word *nation* had absorbed the distinction the monarchy no longer deserved and the need for union among those who proposed a transformation of the state.

The word *citizen* as an honorable title took the place of vassal. From the Spanish constitutional historical tragedy *Riego*, the dramatic narrator Don Félix becomes Mr. Custis, to wax enthusiastic over the perfect United States constitutional society. Custis' dramatic discourse used the power of oratory to reflect on political concerns by contrasting conditions in Spain with a functioning constitutional society. Seoane cited the scales of justice that already represented the equilibrium that a balanced sovereign nation would find in the division of powers into legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government (81). Sovereign supremacy went to the legislative branch allowing for more frequent use of the word *ley* at *Cortes*. The importance of establishing written laws to protect people from abuse of power was the main theme of Mexía's dissertation, and the reason behind his artistic allegory of the Constitution as a protective, nurturing female.

Under despotism there were no guarantees of justice; the ideal situation would be the order and justice only the empire, mild yoke, or beautiful shade the tree of law would provide (82). From those premises the liberals insisted on their sovereign rights, not the *indultos* or pardons given by the Church. Law was made a semigoddess by those liberal representatives in the same way Margaret becomes the divine representation of that document, holy to all those who believed in "expresión de la voluntad general" 'expression of general free will'. Those who looked for the same law and order under "la real voluntad" 'the royal will' would only find royal "capricho" 'whim' (82). While the ministers governed according to the executive power accorded the King, the *Cortes* insisted on the noble idea of laws for a civilized society.

Their oratory reflected a humane, philanthropic and philosophic use of Enlightenment vocabulary of the eighteenth century, a scholarly pursuit of utopian visions of truth and justice. Mexía points to inequalities, obstacles to economic development, and political conservatism of privileged interest groups in

his home country, using that same voice of reason. The very word *privilegiado* had disappeared and the state of being equal as used in the French Revolution became the natural equality afforded by sacred, inherent, and inalienable rights. Seoane enumerated the same basic natural rights of man as liberty, property, and security (83) that Mexía employed in his *Encíclica* (14). The major difference is the exile, *exaltado* Mexía added the right to resistance to oppression (14). That call to resistance was the common denominator among all of the Hispanic exiles. The Spanish *exaltados* were concerned with the dissolution of the liberating army whose permanence they considered essential as a guarantee of the constitutional regime (Seoane 141).

It is this drama about General La Fayette that best reflects the desire of the Spaniard Mexía to rewrite European history by allegorically representing the Spanish uprisings of the early nineteenth-century in the light of the United States War of Independence and its heroes. This political allegory served as one more view of the revolutionary history of the Americas. The ancient Greeks believed that one man, Homer, who set down in a single epic poem the savagery and power of war, wrote the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. While it is difficult to conceive of a simple two-act drama as epic, the sentimental romantic discourse employed by Custis was purposefully epic in that Greco-Roman tradition. Taking the role of Custis was a heroic romantic gesture, as well as an outlet for political commentary, for the author Mexía.

As Burstein and others have indicated, the founding fathers selected those classical readings that were of specific utilitarian concern for the tasks at hand (35).²⁸ Apparently the framers of the Constitution mainly read the historians: "particularly Tacitus, Thucydides, Sallust and Polybius together with Plutarch; the moral works of Seneca, Cicero and Epictetus; and a few poets, most notably, Virgil and Horace, along with a few standard secondary works such as

²⁸ Burstein cites Carl J. Richard for a recent look at a list of the "Founder's Classical Reading" in *The Founders and The Classics: Greece, Rome, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, MA, 1994). Even better is "Rollin's Histories and American Republicanism" by William Gribbin, *William and Mary Quarterly* (Ser.3) 19 (1972): 611-622.

Machiavelli, Montesquieu" (34). They especially admired the voluminous histories of the French Jansenist educator Charles Rollin, the Will Durant of the Enlightenment, whose American popularity lasted well into the early nineteenth century." (34). In addition to the above reading list, the most important for this drama and its relationship to other nineteenth-century literature is Burstein's comments on the importance of "the Republican tradition of resistance to tyranny" (34).²⁹ Following Burstein's identification of such works as "Plutarch's lives of Publicola, Camillus, Brutus, Cato the Younger...the farmer patriot Cincinnatus on whom George Washington modeled his public persona" it is possible to relate the classical references of *La Fayette* to a rather universal sentimental romantic discourse (34).

The conflict in discourse arises from the tension between the desire to right the real political chaos of the Spanish political situation Mexía left behind and that sentimental romantic discourse that looked for heroic words to express those sentiments. What is most apparent from the linking of *Riego* and *La Fayette* is that all revolutions are not created equally. This drama speaks to the United States as a republic, Spain and the rest of the Americas still in turmoil with the revolutions that occurred in the early nineteenth century beginning with the Mexican Revolution.

Historical Background of General Francisco Espoz y Mina

As Lloréns Castillo writes, one of the most prestigious of the nineteenth century Spanish emigrants to England was Francisco Espoz y Mina. Before Félix Mexía proposed to immortalize that general, Wordsworth had already written a sonnet to the Spanish guerrillas in 1811 where Mina figured as the Roman Viriatus:

In One who lived unknown a shepherd's life
Redouted Viriatus breathes again;
And Mina nourished in the studious shade

²⁹ See chapter two for more commentary of the importance of resistance in later Hispanic works. For the specific relationship of George Washington and power see Garry Wills, *Cincinnatus: George Washington and the Enlightenment; Images of Power in Early America* (New York 1984).

With that great Leader vies, who, sick of strife
 And bloodshed, longed in quiet to be laid
 In some green island of the western main. (76)

The presentation of a special commemorative sword in June of 1825 to Espoz y Mina represented the same kind of historical presentation of a sword to La Fayette (Espoz y Mina 6).³⁰ That passing of military relics was an external display of belonging to that revolutionary military brotherhood. Most important was the apparent hope, of both liberal moderates and *exaltados*, that he would be the “anointed one” to bring together all of the emigrants as testified in the pages of the *Ocios* and the *Español constitucional* in England.³¹

Although Mina did not refer to his group of compatriots as a *junta*, but rather called it a “reunion” ‘meeting’, by the end of 1825 he had established agents in Madrid, Oporto, Gibraltar and Bayonne (77). The death of the King of Portugal, along with other international events, affected Mina’s plans. He queried about thirty people along with his main military compatriots as to the political state of Spain and the possibilities for economic support of an uprising. Afterwards, in the information he sent to his political advisors, he related the results of this survey. The general attitude of the London emigrés was conciliatory, maintaining that they would not insist on the previous constitutional system, but rather only aspired to a free nation with ample and tolerant representation for all Spaniards. The most interesting feature of this document was what Lloréns called its propagandistic ability based on honesty, which today would seem ingenuous. It recommended dividing the serviles, spreading as much news as possible about the dirty dealings of the king and his lack of concern for the poverty of Spain.

Besides addressing relations with Hispanic America and a closer relationship with the Portuguese, the overriding sentiment was anti-French.

³⁰ All information is gleaned from his memoirs, which while written by him were published originally in 1851 by his widow Doña Juana María de Vega, condesa de Espoz y Mina.

³¹ For more information on Mina’s political activities in England see Julio Puyol, *La conspiración de Espoz y Mina* (1824-1830), Madrid 1932.

Lloréns commented on Mina's ability as a political organizer in the War for Independence. He also mentioned the transformation of what were known as "aduanillas" 'custom agents' before to guerrillas in the later, more fragmented war (78). The important part of his task was bureaucratic, organizing memoirs, communiqués, advisals, orders; and special confidential papers of all kinds. (Lloréns referred to Mina as probably the most well informed person regarding the Spanish situation both in the interior and exterior.) The King did not find this same task so easy because, as Lloréns relates, little was known with absolute certainty of Mina's plans; even in his memoirs the information was extremely limited (79).

For this reason and others, it is difficult to put a finger on the veracity of the vast conspiracy of 1825 attributed to him and General L'Allemand, then in North America, possibly in Texas according to Lloréns. Lloréns and others tell how these generals planned to return José Bonaparte to the throne in Spain as a constitutional monarch. It was a campaign similar to others that rumored that the Holy Alliance, in support of Spain, was planning an invasion of Mexico around 1823. The plan was to land troops to coincide with a popular uprising. The only difference was the proposal to bring troops from New Spain--"Campeche u otro lugar en Tierra Firme" 'Campeche or some other place on Earth' (80). The strategy was to send officials then hiding in London to head the troops as part of the independence movements in Hispanic America (80). Lloréns questioned the possibility that help would be forthcoming from Hispanic Americans since all official requests had been in vain. On the other hand, Lloréns had no trouble accepting that Espoz y Mina, who fought against José Bonaparte, could then fight for him. That could be explained by the unanimous political desire of the émigrés in general to bring down Ferdinand VII and rid Spain of the Bourbons.

Lloréns used the constant gestures to other dynasties for help as proof. Mina was said to have intercepted letters from José to his brother, the Emperor, where he spelled out his discrepancies with his conduct. Lloréns's comment was truly paradoxical: "mientras la mayor parte de los antiguos josefinos o afrancesados se convertían en los mejores valedores de Fernando, algunos

constitucionales o patriotas que antaño combatieron al intruso José pensaban en tenerlo como Rey” ‘while the majority of the old guard who followed the French were converted to the best defenders of Ferdinand, some constitutional patriots that in the past fought the intruder Joseph (now) planned to have him as King (80).

Plotters, Conspirators, Spies, and Triennium Constitutional Politics

The Spanish Constitution of 1812 reflected both the revolutions of the United States and France. Its 234 articles contained many liberal ideas the people of Spain were not ready to accept. Giving sovereignty to the people by way of legislation was a radical notion. The popularly elected *Cortes* passed the laws. The King was to have all of his decrees approved by the ministers of the *Cortes*. Although this document recognized the Catholic faith as the one true religion, the *Cortes* diminished the church’s power.

The more moderate liberals in the 1820s proposed a constitutional monarchy with Ferdinand VII at the helm. The *exaltados*, on the other hand, saw this step as only a beginning of reform. According to Ullman the “vehemence” of this more radical group “imperiled the whole Liberal movement” (11). Once in power, this far-left regime continued to use the national militia for control, imprisoned all who came out against them, expelled the Jesuits, began to secularize church property and did away with religious orders (12). The allegorical portrayal of the Constitutions of Spain and the United States in Mexía’s dramas owes its origin to the type of radical secularization of religious expression common during the uprising of 1821. As pointed out earlier, the refiguration of religious processions with the constitution as a holy icon was common.

Ullman called Spain a “moderate monarchy” without true constitutional limitations on the crown. The Catholic Church and its offices kept the balance of power, not the old aristocracy (4). He cited “legislative boldness and administrative arbitrariness” in the *exaltado* government (12). That critic spoke of eighteenth century Spanish progressives who felt an absolute monarch imitating the French would be more constructive (13). Ullman maintained that those

liberals were really just “advocating enlightened despotism” while giving lip service to the ideals of the “rights of man” (5). In the meantime, the most corrupt of all Spanish kings, Ferdinand VII, was conning the French into believing he would approve a “very limited constitution similar to the French constitutional charter accepted in 1814 (12). Ullman qualified many of those revolutionaries as “upstarts with purchased titles of nobility.” According to him they proposed to “reinstate medieval felicity and inaugurate a temporary regency with sham pageantry” (13). In 1822, the absolute sovereignties met at the Congress of Verona. The Congress of Verona was the last meeting of the Holy Alliance powers and Britain to consider appropriate action regarding the revolutionary situation in Spain. It is interesting to note that at the Congress of Verona the absolutists, including Orthodox Russia, were conspiring with the Pope to conserve the place of the Roman Catholic Church in Spain.

The French King Louis XVIII wanted consent from his allies to intervene in Spain in order to overthrow the constitutional regime established there in 1820 by Riego’s uprising. Congress voted to support France if it should be attacked by Spain and approved the invasion of Spain with some eighty thousand troops of Louis XVIII. Those troops, headed by the Duc d’Angoulême, were the “cien mil hijos de San Luis” ‘one hundred thousand sons of Saint Louis’. The British, however, by threatening the use of their sea power, prevented the members of the congress from interfering with the revolts occurring in Spanish America (*Encyclopedia Britannica*). As traced in the footnotes and documents in the *Carta*, many Spanish generals were convinced to join the French with assurances that the Constitution of 1812 would be upheld. As the French moved through Spain, the constitutional government moved to Sevilla, then to Cádiz. The French show of force brought Ferdinand VII back to a position of absolute power. The French army attacked the *Cortes* at Cádiz where Ferdinand VII had been forced to go. Ferdinand VII granted the *Cortes* amnesty for his release, but reneged as soon as the *Cortes* released him. The King then abolished the Constitution and executed the leaders of the *Cortes*.

Transnational Romantic Sentiment and the Spanish Romantic Movement

Analyzing the drama *La Fayette* using recent reconsideration of Romantic theory guides us beyond Mexía's exile identity as a dramatic narrator to the staging aspects of the allegorical characters. First, it is necessary to clarify terminology and history relating to the notion of a transnational kind of romanticism and the controversial nature of Spanish Romanticism as a movement. The word *transnational* is appropriate for describing *La Fayette* because of the drama's dual political nature. This political/allegorical, open reading of *La Fayette* requires a cursory look at European Romantic literary theory.

As neoclassic dramatic theory took hold in Europe, the theater of the sixteenth and seventeenth century was no longer held in esteem (Norton introd. 17). While essays were being written in England that represented poetic rebellion against eighteenth-century conventions, the licensing act, which limited spoken drama to only two theatres, resulted in the British law that only allowed dialogue set to music. Overall the atmosphere remained one of rigid moral and political censorship (18).

All over nineteenth-century Europe, historical societal changes and new audiences affected the theatre. Theatre became more and more a place to escape from political realities. Ángel del Río identified the conflict between tradition and literary criticism based on the difference between ancient thought and modern ways (5). He also claimed England was the real source for progressive thought in Europe, while Germany reflected a duality of philosophical, scientific and musical genius because of this conflict. He acknowledged certain similarities in Italian historical development, with Spain as a Catholic "contrarreformista" 'Counterreformation' country using Renaissance thought as a backdrop for the Enlightenment, the lack of national unity, and the desire for unification (5).

Spain entered the movement to Romanticism with a considerable deviation from general European neoclassical formalism, returning to its own literary national tradition, considerably after the publication date of the dramas in this study. Peers, allowing for a longer gestation period, established that the

crucial years of Romanticism in vogue were 1834 to 1837 (Flitter 1). Flitter agreed and followed Peers' lead in viewing Romanticism as a more purely literary phenomenon, thus rejecting the accepted "dogma" of Romanticism as a liberal revolution (4).

Flitter referred to the European esthetic movement, not to a kind of intellectual response to a social mission. Even though he downplayed the importance of the political milieu, Flitter did recognize the importance of the Romantic author Larra in promoting a historicist vision towards a greater social conscience. Flitter noted the development of the notion of literature as a positive moral guide with the capacity to change attitudes and emotions. Silver found the "Liberal Republican Romanticism", the Spanish political relationship with liberalism as opposed to conservatism, to be only a historical affectation. He called the idea a by-product of the Literary Generation of 98 and the later 1930s Republicans. Maintaining that Flitter showed the movement more in keeping with moderate politics, he quoted Gil Novales (1985): "Transformación burguesa sí, pero con miedo desorbitado a la revolución francesa, primero, al socialismo, después" 'Bourgeois transformation yes, but with an astronomical fear of the French revolution, first, then socialism, after (297).

The main critical sources used for this study included the exiled Lloréns' *Liberales y románticos*, as well as the critic Zavala's *Románticos y socialistas*. They and other Spanish academics such as Ricardo Navas-Ruiz viewed Romanticism as a kind of psychological justification of the Marxist social program.

Enlightenment thought circulated freely in Italy, exported from France after the revolution, and from Austria by way of Hapsburg and Bourbon models. That transnational, cosmopolitan, secular, scientific world contrasted with the feudal and ecclesiastical estates of great land and wealth. Changes did not happen overnight. Government faced an old regime economic system that did not support new trade and industry, and lack of direct contact with a predominantly religious mass society overwhelmed with economic hardships.

That economic and political reality translated to blank spaces in most surveys of Spanish literature for theatrical, literary, and cultural contexts in 1825 when *La Fayette* found publication in Philadelphia. In 1990, Jesús Rubio Jiménez wrote of the difficulty in establishing classifications for Spanish nineteenth-century drama because of the dearth of reliable studies available (19). Based on that statement, and the wealth of investigations on Spanish Romanticism, it is still quite controversial to define when neoclassical tragedies died and Spanish Romanticism was born, much less to begin to classify Spanish exile works produced in the United States. Jiménez does admit that in the first half of the century the majority of works retained classical precepts, even if the underlying ideology was a rather exalted Spanish liberalism (24).

In nineteenth-century literary history, nothing is more elusive than the origin, scope, basic characteristics, and chronology of the Romantic Movement in Spain. Peter A. Bly and Susan Kirkpatrick in *Hispania* reviewed an enlightening panorama on the subject in "Eighty-one Years of Scholarship on the Romantic Period (1998). They have made a call for a new look at this area, chiding us "that the past's meaning does not reside in the past, but is produced by ongoing processes of reinterpretation" (809). Kirkpatrick noted the canon forming around such romantic dramatists as Mariano José de Larra, José de Espronceda, José Zorrilla, Bécquer and Rosalía de Castro (804).

Bly and Kirkpatrick detailed the "unified narratives that pulled together historical research, conceptual frameworks, critical evaluations, and ideological standpoints" from Guillermo Díaz Plaja's comprehensive theory, which traced the period to Spanish baroque elements, to the groundbreaking work of E. Allison Peers, who profoundly influenced the field with his "organic history" (804). His work and that of others established a "transhistorical, indigenous phenomenon" (805). Still others viewed romantic theory as a historical problem. In his younger years Américo Castro did not accept the idea of the return of the baroque, allowing that romanticism provided a new self-concept "in response to a metaphysical crisis" (805). This is the concept of romanticism with a little "r"--the use of the word romantic to mean anything that happens to someone else in

another time or another place. Echoing Castro, F. Courtney Tarr related the movement to problems directly involved with modernization and de-emphasized the role of any kind of revival of old forms. Amidst the positivist articles of the fifties, two important but very different books on the Spanish romantic period were published. One was *Origen doctrinal y génesis del romanticismo español* (1954) by Hans Juretschke which deals with Böhl von Faber after Herder and the Schlegel brothers, then Alberto Lista and Durán, the latter two represented the conservative, more nationalist and medieval trend of thought. Vicente Lloréns's *Liberales y románticos* (1954, then revised in 1968) emphasized the liberal romantic political exiles.

As Bly and Kirkpatrick pointed out in *Hispania*, the sources and ideology revealed in the differing versions brought into question the importance of politics and historical development, factors which Peers had not considered. Allowing for outside influence in Spanish romanticism, other critics of this period pointed out particular non-traditional or national characteristics. In the sixties both King and Shaw looked beyond the literary issues to the importance of a change in "world view" (805). According to King, romanticism did not arrive in Spain until the Generation of 1898, while Shaw, in his 1968 work, acknowledged a change of viewpoint among some intellectuals, beginning in the 1830's. He also made note of the strong opposition to consideration of this early romantic sentiment. At this point the majority of studies concerned Bécquer, and the journal *Hispania* alone published five articles on the *Rimas* (806). Interest in the realist novel followed with more articles on Galdós. Then Navas Ruiz published an essay whose title spoke for itself: "Se es romántico en la medida que se es liberal" "One is romantic by the same measure one is liberal (806).

Robert Marrast, in his work on Espronceda, established two kinds of romanticism, an "authentic and progressive 'romantisme social' and an epiphenomenal, retrospective 'national-romantisme'" (684). Iris Zavala's study of periodical literature identified the very political nature of the literary polemics. Zavala pointed out that the "rebellion against society, rupture with past aesthetic practices, and ideals of freedom and democracy were features that linked Spanish

writers of the 1830's with the broader European romanticism" (806). Her position was in direct contrast to Flitter's stance. Zavala saw Böhl's work as destructive, according to Flitter, and did not take into account the phenomenon of romantic historicism influenced by Böhl in the decade of the 1820s. Flitter maintained that she saw *romántico* as a term, in opposition to *servile*, that was identified with liberalism in the *Cortes* of Cádiz (296). The conservative Spanish view on romanticism, borrowed from the Schlegels, was long term according to Javier Herrero in *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario* (The Origins of Reactionary Thought), written in 1971.

There were two differing schools of thought regarding chronology. Kirkpatrick cited one that maintained, "Liberal romanticism was short-lived, appearing only after the liberal exiles' return in 1833 and disappearing, if not in 1837, the date Peers gives for its demise (1: 327), at any rate by 1842, with the death of its leading exponent, Espronceda" (806).

The others supported Marrast's viewpoint that the debate between Böhl von Faber and José Joaquín de Mora was the beginning of the movement. It is pertinent to point out here that Mexía collaborated on *El correo general de Madrid* in conjunction with Eduardo de Gorostiza y Cepeda, and José Joaquín de Mora from 1820 to 1821 (Lloréns 31). José Joaquín de Mora, besides being known for his polemic with Böhl de Faber, a lawyer, was also a newspaperman like Mexía (Lloréns 30). In the seventies, Russell Sebold suggested that much of the late eighteenth century production revealed both values and viewpoints decidedly romantic. David Gies spoke of romantic "heterogeneity" in the eighties (807). Feal, Gustavo Pérez Firmat, and Gerald Ter Horst (807) established the importance of Zorrilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* with psychoanalytic, structuralist, and anthropological studies. Mansour dealt with parallel structures while Mandrell used deconstructionism in order to see Tirso de Molina in Zorrilla.

Of more direct interest to the expansion of the canon were the feminist studies burgeoning in the middle eighties. Stacy Schlauf's work on Gertrudis de Avellaneda's *Sab* was groundbreaking in the sense that she was the first non-canonical woman writer to be considered by *Hispania's* editors as worthy of

individual consideration since the thirties. The late eighties saw work by Aldaraca, Davies, Stevens, Mayoral, and Kirkpatrick on women, as well as the "definitive bio-bibliography of nineteenth-century women writers" by Simón Palmer. Massanés, Coronado, Grassi, and Kirkpatrick have published re-éditions of these works (807).

With so much scholarship on the subject of romanticism, it has only been in recent years that scholars have directed their attention to the relationship of Romanticism as a movement with the beginnings of modern political reforms. Derek Flitter's 1992 history of liberal romanticism insisted on the lasting effect of the "national-historicist" (808) movement begun by Böhl von Faber, evolved from Herder and the Schlegels. Flitter, following Marilyn Butler, rejected the idea that Romanticism equals Liberalism. Butler maintained that until at least 1820, German Romanticism was Catholic and counterrevolutionary. The English and French movements of this period were identified by their political conservatism (Flitter 297). While Philip Silver agreed with Flitter that those ideas were deeply ingrained in Spain from the beginning of the nineteenth century, he maintained Spain experienced no "high romanticism", defined by René Welleck and M. H. Abrams as a "metaphysical crisis and dialectical consciousness" (808).

According to Silver, moderate political ideology permeated even Larra and Espronceda's work. The aesthetics were positivist and of the prior century. That critic's understanding of high romanticism would be identified much later in the works of Bécquer and Cernuda. According to Kirkpatrick and Bly, this aesthetic explanation of the "cultural, social and ideological" ideas developed by a romanticism that had begun in England, France, and Germany--as "center" of Europe--left Spain always second (808). Either way the standards were external, with a kind of derivative romanticism resulting later in Spain as Flitter indicated, or else arriving later in the form of a "high romantic consciousness" lacking in the Castilian landscape and brought in from outside (808).

The nineteenth century was a century of prose that allowed for the first consideration of journalists as authors. The newspaper as a romantic construct related to revolution fit Marxist determinates, while the idea of secular progress

tied to the Industrial Revolution replacing Christian myth would not come to full term until much later in the century. Early in the century, though, the effects of that Industrial Revolution could be seen in the importance of changes in technology and innovations that affected economies. Revolutionary thought involved change from traditional, classical, or theological thought to more general and practical knowledge in the New World.

The complex and varied tradition of the different manifestations of Spanish dramatic Romanticism in the nineteenth century is notorious. The approximations to that movement, engaged in this study, showed early nineteenth-century Spanish dramatists mimetically interpreting other European repertoires. The French translations obviously met with political difficulties, the same as other European translations, due to the beginning valuation of the individual, leaving formal neoclassical tradition by the wayside little by little. New ways of approaching all of the arts brought a revival of the great dramatists of the prior century, Lope de Vega and Calderón de la Barca, as well as English Shakespearian drama.

The liberation of the dramatic arts from those same neoclassic precepts also found a substitution of melodrama for tragedy in the works of August Frederic von Kotzebue in Germany (Jiménez 16). Jiménez also mentioned Guilbert de Pixérécourt in France, Thomas Holcrof in England, and a number of North American imitators as well (16). Mexía, in fact, translated and published in Philadelphia Kotzbue's five-act tragedy *Pizarro y Rola*, dedicating his translation to Guadalupe Victoria, as he had done in *Riego*. Although not original work by Mexía, and for that reason not included in the present study, Mexía's translation of *Pizarro* would certainly qualify as another romantic transnational drama. Mexía acknowledged his translation to Spanish verse of the German drama that had already been translated from an English translation to Spanish prose. In that foreword, Mexía suggested Kotzbue's drama was:

...un consejo de bronce que enseña a todos los hombres y especialmente a los americanos, que pelean por su libertad e independencia, a apreciar los españoles virtuosos y amigos de la

libertad de todos los pueblos a odiar al tirano que les hace la guerra y a sus degradados sectarios, que alimentan las mismas ideas.

...a bronze piece of advice that teaches all men and especially the Americans, that fight for their liberty and independence, to appreciate the virtuous Spaniards and friends of liberty in all countries to hate the tyrant that makes war and his degrading sectarians, that feed the same ideas.

Mexía's dramatic exile texts' literary ambivalence and eclectic nature owe much to the sentimental philosophy, theatrical effects, and portrayal of catastrophic events employed by the German dramatist August von Kotzebue. Jiménez documented Kotzebue's themes as national legends, medieval concerns, and close political situations, as well as exotic locations. His use of the patriarchal connection of kinsmen through any male relative, was the basis for the kind of refiguration found in *Riego* and *La Fayette*. Also of significance was his comment that Kotzebue's plays were often theatrical versions of popular novels, contributing an early structural elasticity back to theatre that had been lost in neoclassicism (16).

As time passed, those melodramatic themes moved closer to contemporary dramatic usage. Jiménez quoted Allardyce Nicoll's book, *Historia mundial del teatro (World History of Theatre)*, which gave credit to those early melodramatic stylists who elevated dramatic production mechanics to a science. Nicoll maintained that Henrik Ibsen could not have developed the drama he did without those early melodramatic pioneers. The transcendence of the melodrama was not deep emotional thought, but rather that it became a strong force in the development of the visual arts and modern theatre (Jiménez 16).

The transnational nature of *Riego* and *La Fayette* owes its origin to the development of melodramatic theatre in Europe. While in Italy the heavy classic operatic tragedies continued, the northern European countries anticipated Ibsen with the influence of romanticism and Shakespeare, and Russia produced an original satirical theatre. Jiménez documented an English theatrical troupe around 1827-1828 that produced Shakespeare in its original format. Since Victor Hugo

observed those performances, Jiménez maintained that *Cromwell* owed some influences to those performances (16).

The famous preface to *Cromwell* affirmed that drama was the greatest form of artistic expression in its portrayal of the modern world's grotesque nature, complex, diverse and inexhaustible in real characters. All of those tenets were diametrically opposed to the ancients' use of uniform simplicity. *Hernani* in 1830 produced a bandit protagonist in a picturesque romantic historical frame similar to Espronceda's later pirate in poetry in his "Canción del pirata." ("Song of the Pirate"). In the beginning years of the 1830s, Alexandre Dumas, who also produced heavyweight dramatic successes, wrote melodramatic theatre displaying romantic historical characters, with all of their intense passion, transported to his contemporary times (16).

Riego and *La Fayette* have remained in the same literary limbo as the texts Aguinaga described due to the political illusion referred to in the critique of *La Fayette*. While the rest of Europe and Great Britain experienced a head start of romantic and Romantic works anticipating the boom of Romantic theatre in the 1830s, Spain was still caught in the stranglehold of strict censorship, except for those odd years of the Triennium and *El Zurriago*, when Spain was also out of syncopation politically.

As the wave of romantic drama spread across Europe with dramatists like the melancholy Musset, the German Büchner, and Wagner's grandiose operas, comedic vaudeville, a close relative of melodrama, found perfection in complex plots and incredible intrigues to maintain audience interest in France. All of those different dramatic representations revitalized the neoclassic theatre petrified in the same techniques and themes. The Spanish exiles in London and Paris awaited those productions with great interest and pursued their own interpretations. Mexía's own heady journalistic production in *El Zurriago*, produced during those special political and literary moments during the Spanish Triennium, had an effect on his exile dramatic production.

Mexía, through his texts, even as a simple translator of someone else's work, wanted the Hispanic Americans in New Spain to know their fight was with

the tyrant Ferdinand VII and his political toadies who controlled the Spanish nation, not with the Spanish people. He continued his dedicatory to Guadalupe Victoria, detailing the faults of the Spanish conquistador Pizarro when contrasted to the native Peruvian hero Rola:

...el carácter inhumano, sanguinario y feroz de Pizarro, comparado con el benéfico y generoso proceder de Rola, valiente caudillo de los peruanos, forman un contraste capaz de conmover a todos los seres sensibles y que la filantropía de Alonso, la piedad del anciano Las Casas, la dulzura de Cora y la bondad paternal de Ataliva...hacen la lectura grata e interesante.

...Pizarro's inhuman character, sanguine and ferocious, compared to benevolent and generous ways of Rola, valiant leader of the Peruvians, forma contrast capable of moving all feeling beings and that the philanthropy of Alonso, the piety of the ancient Las Casas, the sweetness of Cora and the paternal generosity of Ataliva...make the reading enjoyable and interesting.

The Staging of Political Allegory: the Collective Chorus and Crowd Scenes

The two patriotic hymns in *La Fayette* reveal hidden voices, when superimposed on early nineteenth-century literary and political history, both in the Americas and in Europe. They recall earlier radical revolutionary moments some forty years before in the United States Revolution and the later French Revolution. The disturbances caused by the controversial appearance of the "Marseillaise" in Mexico during the height of the French Revolution resembled the controversial effect of the radical lyrics of the ditties *El Zurriago* made so popular in Spain and Mexico. The description of La Fayette's actual visit to the capital during his fifteen-month tour of the young United States republic highlights the symbolic importance of patriotic hymns to set the tone: "Headed by a military band, the procession of carriages and uniformed militia regiments then moved through streets lit by blazing pyramids of wood" (Hanyan 211). In *La Fayette*, the two hymns represent a collective choral response to the political

oratory used by Custis, producing within the drama itself the desired result of political oratory, which is persuasion and response to a call to action.

Mexía adopted the archaic literary choral device, at the end of each act, to immortalize his own heroes. The chorus, at the end of act one, dedicated to La Fayette on the occasion of his arrival, served several purposes. It provided spectacle in which all could take part, “word of mouth” advertisement of the hero La Fayette’s visit, an opportunity to enlarge other heroes, and a musical media format to reach Spanish society back home and in exile. These hymns are similar to religious hymns sung, in an act of worship, to the priests of the religion of liberty, as Mexía referred to his heroes (*Riego* 6). Finally, in the “que viva, que viva” ‘long live, long live’ for La Fayette, there is a public declaration of his private desire for immortality for himself and his heroes:

Que vengan tiranos,
 Que vengan esclavos,
 A ver a los bravos
 Que saben triunfar
 Rendir sus obsequios
 Al gran La Fayette
 Que supo valiente
 Por ellos lidiar
 Let the tyrants come,
 Let the slaves come,
 To see the brave
 That know how to triumph
 To pay their tributes
 To the great La Fayette
 Who knew how to lead them valiantly (16)

The hymns are a sure sign of the dramatist’s desire to actually produce this drama for, and possibly with, an audience. The other stage directions indicate the same; the setting for scene three implies the type of community festival proposed by Rousseau. During the Triennium, ceremonial representation of group unity and

identification had fallen on the deaf ears of a Spanish society not ready for radical changes. The utopian vision of a reconciliation of individual man with his community was not yet possible in early nineteenth-century Spain with its rigid social class system.

Act two, scene three sets a pastoral scene:

There is a view of the banks of the Potomac at Mount Vernon.

Mr. Custis and Washington's other relatives stand near the water in a crowd of men and women. Robinson and Hamilton join the group (4).

Act two, scene four follows with another gathering of the community:

La Fayette lands amidst the acclamations of the multitude: he embraces Mr. Custis, and each one of Washington's extended family (10).

In the final scene:

The sepulcher transforms to a column on which appear Washington and other heroes: the music strikes up the following hymn, the chorus of which all repeat (22).

The hymn was not the devilish "Trágala" of the volatile *El Zurriago* days, which told those in power that the masses would never accept Ferdinand VII's right to veto. The patriotic hymn is more reminiscent of the "Himno de Riego" by Evaristo San Miguel. The lyrics were no longer scandalous, but more weighted with the heavy neoclassical sense of the dramatic:

Venid, venid patriotas
 Venid, venid, llegad:
 Al templo de la fama
 Y la inmortalidad.
 Contemplad a los héroes
 Diademas despreciando
 Miradlos respirando
 Tranquila y dulce paz
 Hollando las delicias,
 En gozo sumergidos

De placeres enchidos,
 Y de felicidad.
 Venid, &c.
 Mirad allí a Washington
 En Gloria y alegría
 De nectar y ambrosia
 Saciada su alma está
 Con guiraldas de flores,
 Los dioses le coronan,
 Y canticos entonan
 Mil ninfas a la par,
 Venid, &c.
 Miradlo todavía
 Diciendo a sus hermanos:
 Perezcan los tiranos
 Y habrá tranquilidad
 Miradlo rodeado
 De héroes que le siguieron
 Y el grito repitieron
 De muerte o libertad,
 Venid, &c.
 Come, come patriots
 Come, come arrive:
 At the temple of fame
 And immortality.
 Contemplate the heroes
 Disparaging crowns
 Watch them breathing
 Tranquil and sweet peace
 Treading with delight
 In joy submerged

Swollen with pleasure
And congratulations
Come, etc.
See Washington there
In Glory and happiness
Of nectar and ambrosia
Their soul is satiated
With garlands of flowers
The gods crown him and
They intone constant songs
A thousand nymphs at the end,
Come, etc.
See him still
Saying to his brothers:
Let tyrants perish
And there will be tranquility
See him surrounded
By heroes that follow him
And repeated the cry of
Liberty or death,
Come, etc. (sic 23)

Chapter 5

Conclusion

Excavation of *La Fayette* was the beginning of a complex journey. Following Derridean *traces*, this researcher traveled, by way of dramatic elements reflective of external time, historical literary periods, and genres, in pursuit of nineteenth-century Hispanic romantic identity in exile. Finding Mexía's historical tragedy *Riego* aided the search to identify the political allegory in Mexía's transnational dramatic texts. The archaeological and anthropological investigation essential to the critical reading of both texts crossed interdisciplinary lines: history/literature/theory/politics. Data from all these fields were essential to understanding Mexía's political allegory.

Hispanic identity in exile and Romantic theory were the major tools necessary to deconstruct *Riego* and *La Fayette* employing those data. The application of these two theories allowed for positive identification of the related political allegory, first in the historical tragedy *Riego*, then in the short dramatic political allegory, *La Fayette*. Unearthing Mexía's two allegorical dramas published in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, *Riego* and *La Fayette*, allowed for readings that address several pertinent issues and raise a variety of questions for future study.

The rationale for applying identity in exile and romantic theory to *La Fayette* by Félix Mexía was to reach the hidden political allegory. Employing a mélange of literary critical theory, this study critiqued Mexía's dramatic allegorical curiosity published in Philadelphia allowing the text itself to speak. Besides tracing the basic chronological history of the allegory, this study also provided a cursory review of over eighty years of studies on Spanish

Romanticism in order to situate *La Fayette*, by treating it as a literary as well as a political archaeological finding. It is in the dismantling of *La Fayette* and viewing its relationship to the Hispanic liberal national project of both Creole and Peninsular Spaniards that a variety of historical forces are unleashed to be contemplated in the light of literary language. The justification for what may appear to be a rather eclectic set of ideological tools was to retain as much objectivity as possible in reviewing the exile works of Mexía.

As exile texts alone, the dramas had no literary status. Identifying *Riego* and *La Fayette* as Hispanic exile texts published in Philadelphia showed that these dramas exercised no real effect on the transcourse of United States Hispanic literature. However, the dramatic allegorical reference in *La Fayette* parallels a similar use of discourse in the United States political sphere. *Riego* reflected Mexican politics and explained the idea of a religious or secular symbolic consecration of political heroes that allows for refiguration. Utilizing the model of refiguration in the historical tragedy *Riego*, the political allegory *La Fayette* became a political animation. The multi-layered *La Fayette* dramatized the European political background of the chaotic years of the Spanish Triennium in an identifiable European liberal discourse superimposed on New World political history, related to the same consecration of heroes.

That the exiled Mexía would continue to portray in his writing a reflection of the politics he left behind is not surprising. However, his work is in agreement with Hispanic immigrant and nativist works produced in the United States in only one sense, the call to revolt against authority. His romantic discourse reflects that resistance to authority or power. His profile fits the exile category with all of the necessary accoutrements. In fact, his use of a pseudonym to publish *Riego*, and his portrayal of himself as an active military participant in the real life drama about the ring conspiracy that the historical tragedy represents, allowed his character "Don Félix, Lieutenant Colonel, friend of Riego" to make direct ideological comments (4). The historical/political commentary of *Riego* resides outside of the text. It is seen in the fact that the journalist Mexía, a man of words, becomes a sword-wielding dramatic participant beside his dearly loved, liberal

founding father Riego. That dramatic Félix is Félix Mexía's romantic heroic identity in exile. That identity found meaning in death: the real life death of his coeditor Morales, Riego's execution, and the loss of so many liberal patriots in defense of the Constitution of 1812. *Riego* was a historical tragedy because of their martyrdom.

Mexía takes life again in his own form of martyrdom. Exiled because of censorship, Félix becomes a military hero beside the legendary Riego in order to editorialize. His editorial comments are no longer in the provocative, satirical style of *El Zurriago*. The allegorical portrayals in *Riego* include characters that represent the Inquisition, the Spanish judiciary system and the entire world as judge and executioner responsible for Riego's martyrdom. In *Riego*, Mexía dedicated his work to Guadalupe Victoria, whose name carried symbolic, as well as historical value in Mexican history. The author's desire to refigure the first Mexican president as the Spanish hero Riego is impossible to discern without the dedicatory comments included in Mexía's sonnet following the drama. The use of the name Félix was a clue in resolving the allegorical enigma; the work would lose its meaning if reviewed as a straight historical tragedy

La Fayette, dedicated to Espoz y Mina, proposed to refigure that Spanish guerrilla fighter and his fellow compatriots as United States Revolutionary War patriots. The allegory was concealed in a straightforward historical newspaper type account of Lafayette's visit to the United States, dramatically portrayed with historical, as well as fictional characters. The hypothesis of a romantic sentimental identity in exile, which was not yet Romantic Theatre, cut through the layers of significance of these recently recovered nineteenth-century dramas to reveal the political allegory.

The Constitution, as a loving wife and mother, was a reply to the political situation in the dramatist's home country. Mexía's primary published works revealed his political message, which was a desire for written laws to protect citizens from abuse. Employing the referent history and pursuing an elusive liberal sentimental romantic discourse, this researcher determined that the Spanish Constitution of 1812 was a national revolutionary posture as anachronistic as it

was apocalyptic. That political reality also transferred to a literary reality. *Riego* and *La Fayette* are representative of the ambiguity and tension of the early Romantic literary period in Spanish literature that, in effect, mirrored the chaotic political situation in its polemics.

Another historical change outside of the texts that related to *Riego* and *La Fayette* was from reliance upon a royal or aristocratic patron to the use of the press in promoting literary production. That change went hand in hand with the Freemasons' impossible belief in an enlightened despot who they felt could be schooled in liberty. Seduced by the glory of absolute power, Ferdinand VII had failed miserably as a constitutional monarch. José Bonaparte, despite all of his *bon vivant* ways and proposal to be a benevolent tyrant in Spain, had also fallen short. While the Enlightenment provided the philosophical vocabulary necessary to stage a revolution, it took real men, real betrayals, real conspiracies and real deaths into the next century to bring about change.

Riego and *Lafayette* both serve as mirrors to Bordieu's "linguistic capital" in the form of a memorial to a particular generation of young Spaniards (7). Clarke says they were "schooled by harsh oppression to a fanaticism in the cause of liberty as exaggerated as that of their opponents in the cause of absolutism. Their mental food was the political utopias of revolutionary doctrinaires...They had of course no experience of public life." (26). In the power relations of the early nineteenth century, their dialect was the language of liberty based on a historical tradition in the sacred sphere of culture, but with eyes to the future on the romantic Americas.

The Triennium, Spanish government by liberals from 1820 to 1823, was itself anachronistic according to Pierre Ullman and others.³² Spain, under liberal rule in those years, was isolated because the rest of Europe was held to despotism. Although Naples and Piedmont, following the Spanish lead, had revolted, the Austrian Empire immediately put down uprisings in those areas. Political stability

³² Ullman's book on Larra covers a chronological period of his writings from January 15, 1834, when Martínez de la Rosa was appointed prime minister, but, he comments on that unusual political situation.

and normal governmental functions were impossible under such circumstances. While lacking the good faith of their own King, who was plotting against even those who proposed to bring him back as a constitutional monarch, the liberals' endurance was highly unlikely. The early Spanish liberal groups were fractured into a number of smaller interest groups, which diluted their strength. But constant throughout Mexía's works was the same fantastic vision of all nineteenth-century exiles: he was dedicated to the saintly cause of liberty and the pursuit of utopia.

Although the original Utopia was an imaginary and ideal country in Sir Thomas More's writings, Mexía and other nineteenth-century exiles proposed to find that place. Very far away in the imagination, indefinitely out of reach for exiles like Mexía, that perfect government was wrapped around the nineteenth-century myth of a political military messiah. The more moderate factions in the Triennium found a legal basis for a return to an idyllic past in the Spanish medieval political juridical system of the eleventh century with all of its warlike landscape. The medieval chroniclers reminded the monk and the warrior, who were often one and the same, that Spain had once provided emperors to Rome. Mexía's nineteenth-century *comuneros* based their populist public discourse on the sixteenth-century *Comunidades de Castilla* uprising, and Mexía employed the same classical heroic comparisons as those medieval chroniclers.

The early sixteenth-century *comuneros* were fighting for less foreign influence, fewer foreigners in Spain and in the Court, and against the exhaustion of funds from the Spanish Treasury for foreign exploits. Political influence and economic bribery were necessary to secure the position of Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire for Carlos I of Spain. Carlos I and his political cronies had usurped money for his political aspirations, with advances that had to be repaid. When they went to the *Cortes* for a second subsidy, some communities refused to provide those funds. After Carlos I left to be crowned in Germany, the *Comunidades de Castilla* uprising occurred in Segovia. The nineteenth-century *comuneros* had the same zeal to drive out all foreign influence, namely the

French, embracing with nostalgia remembrances of Spain's wealth in the age of colonial expansion.

The *Carta* poetically recalls the viewpoint of those nineteenth-century *comuneros* who passionately fought the French with Ferdinand VII and then later fought the restoration of Ferdinand VII as an absolute ruler. The *Carta* points out the dissension and discord among the liberals of the Triennium. The *Carta* gives the title aristocrat to Morales' and Mexía's political opponents, with all of the privileges and rank of the ancient nobles of Spain's independent states, just as *El Zurriago* had compared them to the Mandarins of China, or the sensual pleasure- and-luxury-seeking Sybarites. *Riego* and *La Fayette* follow that same line of political allegory.

The search for a perfect government family with equality was still not a reality in nineteenth-century Spain, as Cruz's study showed. The position of Ferdinand VII as the king desired by his people, but seduced by power and prestige, would not allow the kind of monarchal constitutional system he professed to marry. Difficult ideological differences among liberals came to the surface under that inept King. While the more traditional element sought to return to a past legal system couched in a medieval felicity, others had more radical proposals.

The nostalgia of the exile is often for a paradise lost, one that in reality may never have existed. Harsh realities, such as those experienced by exiles, often form, by faith alone, a time or place where all was as beautiful as a pastoral painting. While place may take on many renderings, as varied as one's reading, or imagination, time is crucial to memory. *La Fayette* recalls a Spain that did not exist, based on a perfect Greco-Roman world, in sentiment more reminiscent of French romantic drama than the almost non-existent Spanish theatre of that era, censorship having impacted that media. Mexía's wish for another past and future rendered the exile heroic refiguration through a bucolic pastoral neoclassic notion of George Washington as the patriot farmer. An exile's hopes for Spain's future in this political allegory were radical ideas for the political environment.

The literary tension in the move from European Neoclassicism to Romanticism reflected Spain's paradoxical political conditions. The dramatic tension in *Riego* and *La Fayette* arose from the interplay of a sentimental romantic discourse undercurrent in a neoclassic news report. The Romantic movement was well under way in other European countries while Spanish arts suffered under strict censorship. Although Manuel Eduardo de Gorostiza wrote in a Moratinian tradition, his play *Contigo pan y cebolla* (*With you bread and Onion*) was a parody of Romanticism. *Contigo pan y cebolla* appeared in Mexico in 1833, before many critics document the actual Romantic Movement of that same decade in Spain. Gorostiza was a Mexican who had a long military and political career, having lived for many years in Spain. Cortina has made the analogy of this publication of *Contigo pan y cebolla* to the same ironic commotion that would have been caused by the appearance of the *Quixote* before the books of chivalry it parodied.

Mexía sought in timeless dramatic space to find the ideal society that historic time had not. That quixotic search resulted in allegorical representations in a sentimental romantic discourse. First, Mexía played the role of Félix, the lieutenant colonel who suffered in prison with Riego, but escaped. Subsequently he became a patriotic son of his favorite American hero, George Washington. Both roles allowed him a space to speak to his exile concerns. Just when one encounters certain experiences is crucial, and those experiences of youth often define world perception. Mexía's anxiety for a liberal utopia was experienced by the exile Mexía in the form of death, along with the desire to be reborn as a patriot son or founding father. Mexía's publication of the *Carta* revealed a history of Spanish martyrs, including the martyrdom of his own coeditor Benigno Morales. Mexía's conscious or unconscious desire to be a heroic Spanish martyr led him to cross the threshold of reality to the unreal dramatic world. He played a role depicting his own desire to die for the cause as Benigno Morales and others had.

Gómez proposed that the realist author Galdós chose Mexía to represent an entire generation of young, wild-eyed idealists. Galdós imbued the character with all the characteristics of a journalistic Zurriaguista writing style reminiscent

of a literary transitional period. While many critics found atonement in the hanging death of that fictional character Patricio Sarmiento, one of Galdós's characters in the *Episodios nacionales* that told of the absolutists killing spree in 1824, Gómez found no such redemption (99). As far as that critic was concerned, the fictional character Sarmiento, like the real man Mexía, never stopped letting his political emotions rule his actions. That quixotic use of Mexía's person came after Mexía's own use of his political persona in the two dramas he produced in exile, *Riego* and *La Fayette*. These two dramas refigure Mexía's coeditor Morales's death in 1824 by Mexía's own allegorical death and resurrection as a dramatic narrator, thus finding at least a desire on Mexía's part for that redemption.

Capturing particular historical moments--Guadalupe Victoria's rise to the Mexican presidency and Lafayette's trip to the United States--an allegorical code breaks open the Spanish and Mexican historical political commentary. *Riego* allegorized the Spanish Constitution of 1812, known as *la pepa* because it came into force on St. Joseph's Day and the nickname for José in Spanish is Pepé, hence *la pepa* (Ullman 8). *La Fayette* went beyond the personification of the Spanish Constitution as Teresa, Riego's wife, as portrayed in *Riego*. Hamilton's wife, Margaret, was not only the personification of the United States Constitution, but also the embodiment of the Spanish Constitution of 1812. The process is the same one employed to refigure the American Founding Father George Washington as the Spanish founding father/patriot son Riego. As with any fictional account of historical circumstances there is a skewed vision. The political rhetoric of these dramas followed an eighteenth-century positivist bent in an early nineteenth-century romantic desire for political change.

While this critique never intended a broad systematic study of nineteenth-century Spanish Romanticism, the overview of theoretical thought in consideration of literary placement for *La Fayette* has allowed for a few definite conclusions. Although the concept of a political constitution as a loving wife and nurturing mother was a novelty in the nineteenth century, it alone does not qualify *Riego* or *La Fayette* as Romantic theatre. The romantic sentimental discourse,

allegorical representation of a political constitution as a woman, and Mexía's role as a dramatic narrator, gave reason to consider *Riego* or *La Fayette* as early Romantic models. However, setting up the open readings of these dramas, this researcher heeded at least the major influences in the Spanish Romantic movement, especially the theoretical base provided by the Romantic transhistorical theory of Peers to reach the conclusions offered here.

Riego is a historical tragedy, and *La Fayette* belongs to a special genre of neoclassic rhetoric in a romantic political allegory by a Spanish exile in the United States, outside of the apparent peak years of the Spanish Romantic movement in Spain. This researcher tags *La Fayette* as a transnational romantic political allegory. That there is a political discourse in these works that looked to provoke social changes is undeniable. That discourse comes from the same distant nineteenth-century realist tradition of the *Celestina* and *Lazarillo de Tormes*, later repeated in Cervantes and the baroque according to Sánchez (66). *La Fayette* displays a mimetic realist tendency to intensify the illusion of reality through a historical base. Whether or not that discourse qualifies as a romantic desire to redefine man's situation; however, is a question that involves the unresolved dichotomy of romantic and Romantic brought up earlier.

The five-act drama *Riego* followed the nineteenth-century Spanish melodramatic tradition that involved elements of the gothic novel, romantic drama, and tragedy. In eighteenth-century Spain, the term *melodrama* referred to a mixed musical and dialogue drama (Clelland 1970 II 349-96). Rubio Jiménez documented a number of those melodramatic type works in Cádiz and other cities during the French invasion, likening them to patriotic theatre similar to live news reports (42).

The historical tragedy *Riego* followed most of those basic neoclassic tenets, with the added heroic gesture of a romantic refiguration of the author Mexía as a military man within the storyline of the arrest, torture, and execution of Riego. Mexican current events come into play with the dedication to Guadalupe Victoria of the translation of *Pizarro and Rola* and the sonnet at the end of *Riego*. This historical tragedy owes a certain literary permeability to

political allegory reflective of the Zurriaguista's satire. The paradigm is the historical novel of the same period. The short, two-act *La Fayette* followed the same technique, allowing Mexía another space to publish his political commentary.

The work done by the 'Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage Project in Houston acknowledges the importance of the written word in the more clearly defined liberal revolutionary movements later in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. (Herrera-Sobek III: 3). Drama employs both oral and written verbal skills. In the case of Mexía's political allegory, that language was steeped in both the oral declamation and written rhetoric of the late eighteenth-and-early-nineteenth-century European liberal political discourse.

To preserve his exile identity, it is important to note that Mexía signed his drama *Riego* with a pseudonym, but employed no such ruse in *La Fayette*. He published *Riego* both in Philadelphia and in Mexico, while the drama about La Fayette came out only in Philadelphia. The fictional characters Félix and Custis provide commentary within the dramas, each taking on a special role as dramatic narrator. Both portray the individual Mexía as romantically heroic. This commentary expresses Mexía's ambivalence and search for a voice of authority by identifying himself in exile in specific heroic roles. Romantic transitional tendencies in *Riego* and *La Fayette*, such as this beginning valuation of the individual expressed by the use of a dramatic narrator, are representative of a particularly ambivalent literary and political period in Spanish dramatic Romanticism. Present in *La Fayette* is a bucolic, pastoral admiration of society that is distinctly neoclassic forming a contrast with the uniquely romantic revelation of Spain's political problems.

Blanco Aguinaga noted certain qualities of Spanish exile literature that are relevant to Mexía's work. First, normally the exile wrote in his first language and, directly or indirectly, wrote about the political dilemma causing exile; second, the writing of exiles would be more likely to affect the course of literary narrative in their own countries; and third, their effect normally would not show in the course of the narrative in the asylum country (253). Mexía's transnational romantic

dramas have met with the same perception as the works of those exiles. The devaluation and perhaps lack of funds for staging of *Riego* and *La Fayette* were a result of the need to historicize that highlighted their hidden political allegory. The history was politically related to Spain, but the literary history was more complex. Aguinaga also recognized that the length of time spent in exile by the Civil War exiles was not as crucial as the illusion of an imminent return to Spain.

Mexía's illusion was very much a part of his Hispanic exile identity. His own society rejected his liberal political views to the point that he found himself stranded on the other side of the ocean. His remembrances, as reflected by his persona in the two characters he represents in the dramas, are of a romantic nature. He portrays himself and his liberal cohorts as heroic individuals in a society that as a newspaperman he had attacked as being an uncaring, ruthless tyranny. His ambition was to consecrate himself, his fellow patriots, and his beloved for all eternity--the Constitution of 1812, in the holy fire of liberty America-style. In his dedicatory to Guadalupe Victoria of the translation of *Pizarro and Rola*, he included the following description of Kotzbue's drama:

Contiene además principios de la moral más pura, y del amor más acendrado en favor de la santa causa de la libertad de los hombres: como yo veo brillar en V.E. esos mismos principios; me tomo la libertad de consagrársela. Si V. E. no se disgusta por esta pequeña oferta, toda mi ambición quedará recompensada.

In addition, it contains the purest moral principles and the most unblemished love for the saintly cause of man's liberty: such as those same principles that I see shine in Your Excellency; I take the liberty of dedicating it to you, if Your Excellency is not displeased by this small offering, all of my ambition will be rewarded.

The focus is not on Mexía the man's ambitions, but rather on the political allegory his literary works reveal through a historical approach. A romantic desire to refigure not only his heroes and compatriots, but also his own person as a

“farmer patriot” and “founding father” is present in his dramatic exile works. This literary use of his persona anticipated Galdos’ use of the same in 1906.

Mexía’s literary exile production displays the romantic depiction of his exile identity, as he becomes a fictional character in his own plays, a device similar to the use of a novelistic narrator to point out the political allegory. The other underlying common element in *Riego* and *La Fayette* is the romantic allegorical portrayal of national identity through the political constitution as a woman, wife, and mother. The seductress liberty became the matronly constitution in order to protect the rights of her nation family in *Riego* and *La Fayette*.

The stage directions in the dramas studied here provide a clue that their author intended to stage these works for a particular public. The motive and reception of these dramas and others by various Hispanic exile groups in Philadelphia, or any number of other Hispanic exile communities across the Americas, is another interesting story beyond the tremendous contribution Hispanics made to the literature of the Southwest. The Hispanic exile community was generally an enlightened population, both skilled and working class, as well as professional, intellectual, “racially diverse”, and some “former landowners” (Herrera-Sobek III: 3). The stories of exile hardships are similar even in diverse Hispanic communities that were strong on the eastern seaboard in New York and Philadelphia.

Another interesting possibility for future study would be the comparison of the English prose translation of *La Fayette* to Mexía’s neoclassic Spanish verse. In addressing the works of Félix Mexía, this researcher is the first to document the relationship of political and romantic revolutionary sentiment to artistic production through allegory in Mexía’s works. The role of journalists, like Mexía, as intellectual, philosopher, lover of knowledge pursued by a disciplined use of reason faced with the political necessity of action has often been played as part of a larger theatrical cultural performance.

Bibliography

- Abanes, Richard. *The Truth about the Da Vinci Code*. Eugene, Oregon: Harvest House Publishers, 2006.
- Abrams, M. H. "The Correspondent Breeze." *Essays on English Romanticism*. New York: Norton, 1984.
- . *The Mirror and the Lamp: Romantic Theory and the Critical Tradition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Aching, Gerald. *The Politics of Spanish American Modernismo*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Acosta-Belén, Edna and Bárbara R. Sijostrom, eds. *The Hispanic Experience in the United States*. New York: Praeger, 1988.
- Adams, Hazard and Leroy Searle, eds. *Critical Theory Since 1965*. Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1986.
- Adams, Nicholson B. "Notes on Spanish Plays at the Beginning of the Romantic Period." *Romantic Review* 17 (1926): 128-42.
- . "Sidelights on the Spanish Theaters of the 1830's." *Hispania* 9 (1926): 1-12.
- Ajello, Nello. "Setecientos años de exilio." *Revista Nacional de Cultura* 28 (1966): 57-63.
- Alberich, José. *Bibliografía anglo-hispánica*. Oxford: The Dolphin Book Co. Ltd., 1978.
- Alcalá Galiano, Antonio. *Memorias. Biblioteca de autores españoles*. Madrid: Atlas, 1960. 516-75.
- . *Obras escogidas*. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1955. 83-84.
- . *Reflexiones de Antonio Alcalá Galiano sobre "El Zurriago" num. 79 y 80*. Madrid: Imprenta del Espectador, R. Macias, 1822.
- "Allegory." *The New Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics*. 1993.
- Alegria, Fernando and Jorge Ruffinelli, eds. "Paradise Lost or Gained? The Literature of Hispanic Exiles." *The Americas Review* 18 (1990): 3-4.
- Altieri, Charles. *Canons and Consequences: Reflections of the Ethical Force of Imaginative Ideals*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1990.
- Alvarez de Toledo, José. *Manifiesto o satisfacción pundonorosa a todos los buenos españoles europeos, y a todos los pueblos de la América por un diputado a las Cortes reunidas en Cádiz*. Philadelphia, 1811.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983.
- Andujar, Manuel "Exilio y transtierro." *Cuadernos hispanoamericanos: revista mensual de cultura hispánica* (1989): 177-89.

- Anna, Timothy E. *The Mexican Empire of Iturbide*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.
- Archer, Christon I., ed. *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2000.
- Argüelles, Agustín de. "Apéndice a la sentencia pronunciada en 11 de Mayo de 1825 por la Audiencia de Sevilla contra sesenta y tres diputados de las Cortes de 1822 y 1823." *Manual del librero hispanoamericano*. Ed. Antonio Palau y Dulcet. Oxford: The Dolphin Book Co., 1948.
- . *Reseña histórica de 1820 a 1824*. Madrid: Imprenta de T. Fortanet, 1864.
- Arrillaga, Paulina. "Celebration Traced Back to Forefathers in Laredo." 16 Feb. 1997: 26A.
- Artesi, Catalina Julia. "El exilio como intertexto en el teatro hispánico." Ed. Juana Alcira Arancibia, Introduction Juan José Camero, Amalia La Croze de Fortabat, Carmen Ortiz, Josefina Pla, and Augusto Roa Bastos. *Literatura como intertextualidad: IX Simposio Internacional de Literatura*. Buenos Aires: Inst. Lit. y Cultural Hispánico, 1993: 401-11.
- Artola Galbgo, Miguel. *Antiguo régimen y revolución liberal*. Barcelona: Editorial Ariel, 1978.
- . *La España de Fernando VII*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1968.
- Arzadún, Juan. *Fernando VII y su tiempo*. Madrid: Editorial Summa, 1942.
- Asenjo, Antonio. *La prensa madrileña a través de los siglos*. Madrid: Artes Gráficas Municipales, 1933.
- Aycock, Wendell and James Whitlark, eds. *The Literature of Immigration and Exile*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1992.
- Banning, Lance. *The Jeffersonian Persuasion*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.
- Benítez-Rojo, Antonio. "The Nineteenth-Century Spanish American Novel." *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*. Eds. Roberto González Echevarría and Enrique Pupo-Walker. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 417-89.
- Benson, Nettie Lee, ed. *Mexico and the Spanish Cortes, 1810-1822*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966.
- Benson, Lee. *The Concept of Jacksonian Democracy*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Bergamini, John D. *The Spanish Bourbons*. New York: G. P. Putnam Sons, 1974.
- Berkowitz, H. Chonon. *La biblioteca de Benito Pérez Galdós*. Las Palmas: Ediciones El Museo Canario, 1951.
- Bevan, David, ed. *Literature and Exile*. Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 1990.
- Blanco Aguinaga, Carlos. "Otros tiempos, otros espacios en la narrativa española del exilio en América." *Crítica: A Journal of Critical Essays* 2:2 Fall (1990): 249-57.
- Bly, Peter, and Susan Kirkpatrick. "Eighty-one Years of Scholarship on the Romantic Period." *Hispania* 81 (1998): 803-10.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *The Field of Cultural Production*. New York: Columbia

- University Press, 1993.
- Bradfield, Scott. *Dreaming Revolution*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993.
- Braham, Persephone. Rev. of *Jicoténcal*, by Félix Varela. ed. Luis Leal and Rodolfo Cortina. *Historical Review* 1997: 65.
- Brereton, Geoffrey. *Quelques précisions sur les sources d'Espronceda*. Paris: Jouve, 1933.
- Brown, Dan. *Da Vinci Code*. New York: Doubleday, 2003.
- Brown, Joan L. and Crista Johnson. "Required Reading: The Canon in Spanish and Spanish American Literature." *Hispania* 81.4 December (1998): 252-62.
- Brown, Marshall. *Preromanticism*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Brown, Reginald. *La novela española (1700-1850)*. Madrid: Dirección General de Archivos y Bibliotecas, 1953.
- Brown, Stephan J. *The World of Imagery*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1927.
- Bruce-Novoa, Juan. *Retrospace: Collected Essays on Hispanic Literature*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1990.
- Brune, Lester H. *Chronological History of U.S. Foreign Relations 1776 to Jan. 20, 1981*. Vol. 1. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1985.
- Bulkley, Esq., Chauncey, trans. *La Fayette in Mount Vernon*. By Félix Mexía. Philadelphia: Stavely and Bringham, 1825.
- Burch, Jacobina. *History of the Early Newspapers of San Antonio, 1823-1874*. ms. 8023051.
- Burstein, Stanley M. "The Classics and the American Republic." *The History Teacher* 1st ser. 30 Nov. (1996): 29-44.
- Buxo, José Pascual. "Las alas de Icaro" Ed. Rose Corral, Arturo Alabarce Souto, and James Valender. *Poesía y exilio: Los poetas del exilio español en México*. Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1995. 391-97.
- Caldera, Ermanno. *Il dramma romantico in Spagna*. Pisa: Università di Pisa, 1974.
- Calero, Eduardo. "¿Como limitar la literatura del exilio?" *SECOLAS Annals: Journal of the Southeastern Council on Latin American Studies* 22 Mar (1991): 74-79.
- Canga Argüelles, José. *Ensayo sobre las libertades de la iglesia española en ambos mundos*. ms. London, 1826.
- Carlson, Marwin. *Le théâtre de la révolution française*. Paris: Gallimard, 1978.
- Carnero, Guillermo. *Los orígenes del romanticismo reaccionario español: El Matrimonio Böhl de Faber*. Valencia: Universidad de Valencia, 1978.
- Carr, Raymond. *España 1808 - 1939*. Barcelona: Ariel, 1968.
- . *Spain 1808-1975*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982.
- Casaldauero, Joaquín. "El terror de 1824: la transfiguración de Romo." *Actas del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Estudios Galdosianos*, 1978. Vol. 1. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Gráficas Cervantes, S.A., 1979.

- Castro, Américo. Prologue. *Les grands romantiques espagnols*. Paris: La Renaissance du Livre, 1923.
- Castro, Cristóbal de. *Constitución política de la monarquía española promulgada en Cádiz la 19 de marzo de 1812*. Barcelona: Librería Nacional de Sauri, 1936.
- . *El rey felón o los seis años inicuos*. Madrid: Rafael Caro Raggio, 1929.
- Chabrán, Rafael and Richard Chabrán. "The Spanish-Language and Latino Press of the United States: Newspapers and Periodicals." Ed. Francisco Lomeli et al. *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993.
- Cheyne, Joseph, Crisafulli Jones and Lilla María, eds. *L'Esilio romantico: forme di un conflitto*. Bari: Adriática, 1990.
- Christiansen, E. *The Origins of Military Power in Spain*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1967.
- Colburn, Guy Blandin. "Greek and Roman Themes in the Spanish Drama." *Hispania* 22.2 May (1939): 153-58.
- Colón, María Luisa. "Impresos en español publicados en Filadelfia durante los años 1800 a 1835." Diss. Catholic University of America, 1951.
- "Condiciones y semblanzas de los diputados a Cortes para la legislatura de 1820 y 1821." *Librería Militar*. Gibraltar: Librería Militar, 1821.
- Conner, Thomas Svante. "Exil et autobiographie: lectures théoriques et pratiques" Diss. Yale University, 1985.
- Correa Calderón, Evaristo. Estudio preliminar. *Costumbristas españoles*. Madrid: Aguilar, 1950.
- Cortina, Rodolfo. "Varela's *Jicoténcal* and the Historical Novel." *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage* Vol. 3. Eds. María Herrera-Sobek and Virginia Sánchez Korrol. Houston: Arte Público Press, 2000. 450-456.
- Cortina, Rodolfo J. and Alberto Moncada, eds. *Hispanos en los Estados Unidos*. Madrid: Cultura Hispánica (Colección Hispana), 1988.
- Cruz, Jesús. "An Ambivalent Revolution: The Public and the Private in the Construction of Liberal Spain." *Journal of Social History*. Fall (1996): 5-25.
- Cunha-Giabbai, Gloria da. *El exilio: Realidad y ficción*. Montevideo: ARCA, 1992.
- Dalberg-Acton, John Emerich. *Selected Writings of Lord Acton: Essays in the History of Liberty* Vol. 1. Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, 1985.
- Dayras, Solange, ed. *L'exil et le royaume*. Paris: Didier-Erudition, 1993.
- Del Río, Angel. *Historia de la literatura española*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1963.
- Del Río, Angel and Amelia A. del Río. *Antología general de la literatura española*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1960.
- Dérozier, Albert. *Quintana y el nacimiento del liberalismo en España*. Madrid: Ediciones Turner, 1978.
- De Torre-Gracia, Emilio E. "El encarcelamiento del exilio interior."

- Monographic Review/Revista Monográfica* 11 (1995): 81-93.
- Devolder, Arthur L. *Guadalupe Victoria's Role in Mexican Independence*. Albuquerque: Arcraft Studios, 1978.
- Diáz Plaja, Guillermo. *Introducción al estudio del romanticismo español*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1936.
- "Diderot, Denis." *Britannica store*. Vers. 99. May 1999 Encyclopaedia Britannica. <http://www.britannica.com/bcom/eb/article/0/0,5716,30857=+4+30363,00.html>.
- Droguett, Carlos. "Literatura del exilio." *Texto Crítico* 7: 22-23 July-Dec (1981): 59-67.
- Duvignaud, Jean. *Sociología del teatro*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1966.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Exiles and Emigrés: Studies in Modern Literature*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1970.
- Eagleton, Terry. *Walter Benjamin o hacia una crítica revolucionaria*. Madrid: Cátedra, 1998.
- Eakin, Marshall C. "Latin American History in the United States." *The History Teacher* 31.4 August (1998): 539-554.
- Eco, Umberto. *Serendipities: Language and Lunacy*. Trans. William Weaver. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.
- Edwards, Jorge. "La literatura como exilio." *Suplemento literario: La Nación Buenos Aires* Aug 15 (1993): 1-2.
- Elizondo, Virgilio P., Frank Ponce, Patrick L. Flores, and Robert F. Sánchez. "Los católicos hispanos en los Estados Unidos." New York: Spanish American, 1980.
- Epple, Juan Armando. "Hispanic Exile in the United States." Ed. Francisco Lomelí. *Handbook of the Hispanic Cultures of the United States: Literature and Art*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993. 333-59.
- Epstein, James A. *Radical Expression: Political Language, Ritual, and Symbol England, 1790-1850*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- Esdaile, Charles J. *The Spanish Army in the Peninsular War*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988.
- Espoz y Mina, Francisco. *Memorias del General Don Francisco Espoz y Mina*. Ed. D. Miguel Artola Gallego. *Biblioteca de autores españoles*. 146-147. 2 vols. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1962.
- Fabré, Genevieve. *European Perspectives on Hispanic Literature of the United States*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1988.
- Fernández, José B. "Hispanic Literature: The Colonial Period." *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993. 253-64.
- Fernández Shaw, Carlos M. *Presencia española en los Estados Unidos*. 2nd ed. Madrid: Cultura Hispánica, 1987.
- Ferrer Benimeli, José A. "La masonería en las dos primeras series de los Episodios nacionales de Galdós." *Actas del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Estudios Galdosianos, 1978*. Vol. 1. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Gráficas Cervantes, S.A., 1979.

- Firestone, Roger. "What is Freemasonry." Online posting. 2 July 2000.
<http://www.Ccsf.caltech.edu/%7Erfire/masonry/history.html>.
- Fisher, Lillian E. *The Background of the Revolution for Mexican Independence*. New York: Russell & Russell, 1971.
- Flitter, Derek. *Spanish Romantic Literary Theory and Criticism*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Florescano, Enrique. "De la memoria del poder a la historia como explicación." *Historia, ¿para qué?* Mexico City: Siglo XXI, 1980.
- Fossier, Albert E. *New Orleans the Glamour Period, 1800-1840*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Co., 1998.
- Foster, David Williams, ed. *Sourcebook of Hispanic Culture in U.S. Chicago: American Library*, 1982.
- Foster, David Williams, and Daniel Altamiranda, eds. *Theoretical Debates in Spanish American Literature*. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1997.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage, 1973.
- . "What is an Author?" *Critical Theory Since 1965*. Eds. Hazard Adams and Leroy Searle. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1986. 138.
- Frazer, Sir James. *The Golden Bough*. London: Wordsworth Reference, 1922.
- Gambarte, Eduardo Mateo. "Problemas específicos de los jóvenes escritores exiliados en México" Ed. Rose Corral, Arturo Souto Alabarce, and James Valender. *Poesía y exilio: Los poetas del exilio español en México*. Mexico City: Colegio de México, 1995: 437-50.
- García Barrón, Carlos. *La obra crítica y literaria de Don Antonio Alcalá Galiano*. Madrid: Gredos, 1970.
- García, Germán L. "Testimonio: El exilio de escribir." *Hispanoamérica: Revista de Literatura*. 20:59 Aug (1991): 69-84.
- García Sánchez, Franklin. *Tres aproximaciones a la novela histórica romántica española*. Ottawa: Dovehouse Eds., 1993.
- Garrido, Alberto and Julio Cortázar, eds. *Exilio: nostalgia y creación*. Mérida, Venezuela: Dirección de Cultura de la Universidad de los Andes, 1987.
- Gastelum, Bernardo J. *Física de la actitud*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1931.
- Gates, Henry Louis, Jr. *Loose Canons: Notes on the Culture Wars*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.
- Gies, David. "The Plurality of Spanish Romanticism." *Hispanic Review* 49 (1981): 427-42.
- Gil Novales, Alberto. "Los colaboradores del Zurriago y de La Tercerola." *Bulletin Hispanique* 74 (1972): 165-84.
- . "Política y sociedad." *Historia de España*. Ed. Manuel Tuñón de Lara. Vol. 7. Barcelona: Editorial Labor S.A., 1980.
- . "La prensa en el trienio liberal (1820-1823)." *Prensa y sociedad en España (1820-1936)*. Ed. Manuel Tuñón de Lara. Madrid: Editorial Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1975.
- . *Las sociedades patrióticas (1820-1823)*. Madrid: Editorial Tecnos, 1975.
- Glad, John. *Literature in Exile. Wheatland Foundation*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1990.

- Godzich, Wlad, and Nicholas Spadaccini, eds. *The Crisis of Institutionalized Literature in Spain*. Minneapolis: Prisma Institute, 1988.
- Gold, Hazel. "Back to the Future: Criticism, the Canon, and the Nineteenth-Century Novel." *Hispanic Review* 58.2 (1990): 179-204.
- Goldwin, Robert A. ed., *Political Parties, U.S.A.* Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1964.
- Gómez, Dolores. "El Zurriago en algunos Episodios nacionales de Benito Pérez Galdós." Master Thesis. U of Georgia, 1983.
- Gonzales, Aníbal. *Journalism and the Development of Spanish American Narrative*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Gonzales-Berry, Erlinda and Chuck Tatum, eds. *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*. 3 vols. to date. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1996.
- González García, José M. *Metáforas del poder*. Madrid: Alianza, 1998.
- González Stephan, Beatriz. *La historiografía literaria del liberalismo hispanoamericano del siglo XIX*. Havana: Casa de las Américas, 1987.
- Gorak, Jan. *The Making of the Modern Canon: Genesis and Crisis of a Literary Idea*. London: Athlone Press, 1991.
- Gowers, Ernest. *The Complete Plain Words*. Ed. Sidney Greenbaum and Janet Whitcut. Rev. Ed. Boston: Godine, 1990.
- Goytisolo, Juan. *El furgón de la cola*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1976.
- Gurr, Andrew. *Writers In Exile : The Identity Of Home In Modern Literature*. Brighton, Sussex: Harvester Press; Humanities Press, 1981.
- Gutierrez, Ramón and Genaro Padilla, eds. *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*. 3 vols. to date. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993-.
- Hale, Charles A. *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821-1853*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.
- Hallberg, Robert von. *Canons*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Hammond, Jabez D. *History of Political Parties in the State of New York*. 4th ed. Cooperstown, NY: 1846.
- Handlin, Oscar, and Mary Handlin. *The Dimensions of Liberty: A Study of the Role of Government in the American Economy in Massachusetts, 1774-1861*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1966.
- Hanyan, Craig, and Mary L. Hanyan. *De Witt Clinton and the Rise of the People's Men*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.
- Hartog, Hendrik. *Man and Wife in America: A History*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Haydon, Colin, and William Doyle, eds. *Robespierre*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Hazard, Paul "El pensamiento europeo en el siglo XVIII." *Revista de Occidente* 33 (1946): 78-88.
- Hendrix, W.S. "Periodical Literature." *Hispania* 5 (1922): 374-77.
- Herrera-Sobek, María and Virginia Sánchez Korrol, eds. *Recovering the U.S. Hispanic Literary Heritage*. 3 vols. to date. Houston: Arte Público Press, 2000.
- Herrero, Javier. "El naranjo romántico: esencia del costumbrismo." *Hispanic Review* 46 (1978): 343-54.

- . *Los orígenes del pensamiento reaccionario*. Madrid: Cuadernos para el Diálogo, 1971.
- Hespelt, E. Herman. "The Translated Dramas of Mariano José de Larra and their French Originals." *Hispania* 15 (1937): 117-34.
- Hinterhäuser, Hans. *Los "Episodios nacionales" de Benito Pérez Galdós*. Madrid: Gredos, 1963.
- Homer. *The Iliad*. Trans. Robert Fagles. New York: Viking, 1990.
- Iarocci, Michael P. "Between the Liturgy and the Market: Bourgeois Subjectivity and Romanticism in Larra's "La Nochebuena de 1836." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 33 (1999): 41-59.
- Jameson, Fredric. *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Jara, René, and Nicholas Spadaccini, eds. *The Crisis of Institutionalized Literature in Spain*. Minneapolis: Prisma Institute, 1989.
- Juretschke, Hans. *Origen doctrinal y génesis del romanticismo español*. Madrid: Ateneo, 1954.
- Kanellos, Nicolás. "Brief History of Hispanic Theater in the United States." Ed. Francisco Lomeli et al. *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993.
- Kennedy, J. Gerald. *Imagining Paris: Exile, Writing, and American Identity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- Kennedy, Sheila Suess, ed. *Free Expression in America: A Documentary History*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999.
- Kermode, Frank. *The Sense of an Ending*. Oxford: Oxford Univ Press, 1966.
- Kernan, Alvin. *The Imaginary Library: An Essay on Literature and Society*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1982.
- King, Edmund. "What is Spanish Romanticism?" *Studies in Romanticism* 2 (1962): 1-22.
- Kirkpatrick, Susan, ed. *Antología poética de escritoras del siglo XIX. Biblioteca de escritoras*. Madrid: Castalia, 1992.
- Klein, Marcus. *Foreigners: The Making of American Literature*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Knapp, Bettina Liebowitz. *Exile and Transcendence*. Halifax, Can.: Dalhousie University, 1990.
- Knapp, Brian J. *People of the World: Population and Migration*. Danbury: Grolier Educational, 1994.
- Krauze, Enrique. *Mexico: Biography of Power*. Trans. Hank Heifetz. New York: Harper Collins, 1997.
- Krupat, Arnold. *Ethnocriticism*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Krysiek, James S., and John W. Rooney Jr. "The Spanish Revolution Seen Through American Eyes." *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe 1750-1850: Proceedings* 1990 20: 976-986. 29 Sept. 1999 <<http://serials.abc-clio.com/cgi-bin/nph-appframework/ABC-Clio-Serials>.
- Lamming, George. *The Pleasures of Exile*. London: Allison and Busby; Distr. USA Schocken Books, 1984.
- Larra, Mariano José de. *Artículos de costumbres*. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1965.

- . *Obras de D. Mariano José de Larra (Figaro)*. Ed. Carlos Seco Serrano. Vols. 127-129 *Biblioteca de autores españoles*. Madrid: Atlas, 1960.
- Lauter, Paul. *Canons and Contexts*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Leal, Luis, and Rodolfo J. Cortina, eds. Introduction. *Jicoténcal*. By Félix Varela. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1995.
- Le Brun, Carlos. *Retratos de la revolución de España*. Philadelphia, 1826.
- Lewis, R. W. B. *The American Adam*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955.
- Liberman, Arnoldo. "Rememoración del exilio" *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos: Revista Mensual de Cultura Hispánica* 517-519 July-Sept (1993): 544-52.
- Lida, Clara E. "Del destierro a la morada" *El exilio de las Españas de 1939 en las Américas: ¿Adónde fue la canción?* Ed. José María Navarro-Calderón, Barcelona: Anthropos & Centro de las Letras Españolas, Dirección del Libro y Bibliotecas, Ministerio de Cultura, (1991): 63-84.
- Lida, Clara E. "Galdós y los Episodios nacionales: una historia del liberalismo español." *Anales Galdosianos* 3 Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg, 1968.
- Limbird, J. *The Carbonari*. London: J. Limbird, 1823.
- Litvak, Lily. "La buena nueva : periódicos libertarios españoles : cultura proletaria y difusión del anarquismo." *Ideologies and Literature : Journal of Hispanic and Lusophone Discourse Analysis* Sept.- Nov. 3 14 (1980): 94-117.
- Lloréns Castillo, Vicente. "El escritor en la época romántica." *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos: Revista Mensual* 3.329-330 (1977): 513-28.
- . *Liberales y románticos*. Mexico City: Colegio de México Fondo de cultura económica, 1954. Expanded ed. Madrid: Castalia, 1968.
- . *Literatura, historia, política*. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1967.
- . *El romanticismo español*. Ed. Castalia, 1979.
- Lloyd-Jones, David. "The Art of Enoch Powell: The Rhetorical Structure of Speech on Immigration." *Politically Speaking : Cross-Cultural Studies of Rethoric*. Philadelphia: Inst. for the Study of Human Issues, 1981. 87-111.
- Lomelí, Francisco, Nicolás Kanellos, and Claudio Esteva-Fabregat, eds. *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993.
- Lorenzo-Rivero, Luis. *Larra: lengua y estilo*. Madrid: Playor, 1977.
- Lovejoy, A.O. "The Meaning of Romanticism for the Historian of Ideas." *JHI* 2 (1941): 261.
- . "On the Discriminations of Romanticisms." *PMLA* 29 (1924): 229-53.
- Makouta-Mboukou, Jean Pierre. *Les littératures de l'exil: des textes sacrés aux oeuvres profanes: étude comparative*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1993.
- Mallon, Florencia E. *Peasant and Nation: The Making of Postcolonial Mexico and Peru*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.
- Manent, Albert. "El escritor en el exilio" *Insula: Revista de Letras y Ciencias Humanas* 39. 456-457 Nov-Dec (1984): 26.
- Mangini, Shirley. "Three Voices of Exile." *Monographic Review/Revista Monográfica* 2 (1986): 208-15.

- Marder, Daniel. *Exiles at home: A Story of Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984.
- Marrast, Robert. *José de Espronceda et son temps: littérature, société, politique au temps de romantisme*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1974.
- Massanés, María Josepa. *Antología poética. Biblioteca de autores españoles*. Ed. Ricardo Navas Ruiz. Madrid: Castalia, 1991.
- Martin, Stoddard. *The Great Expatriate Writers*. London: Macmillan, 1992.
- Martínez de la Rosa, Francisco. *Obras. Biblioteca de autores españoles*. Madrid: Atlas, 1962. 148-155.
- Martínez Ruiz, José. *Clásicos y modernos*. Madrid: 1919.
- Martos Eliche, Fermin "La labor del intelectual en el exilio: Manuel Andújar." *Letras Peninsulares* 7:2: 435-72.
- Mateo Gambarte, Eduardo. *Literatura de los "niños de la guerra" del exilio español en México*. Lerida, Spain: Universitat de Lleida: Pagés Editors, 1996.
- Mayoral, Marina, ed. *Escritoras románticas españolas*. Madrid: Fundación Banco Exterior, 1990.
- McClelland, I.L. *The Origins of the Romantic Movement in Spain*. Liverpool: Institute of Hispanic Studies, 1937. McDowell, John H., María Herrera-Sobek and Rodolfo J. Cortina.
- "Hispanic Oral Tradition: Form and Content." Ed. Francisco Lomelí et al. *Handbook of Hispanic Cultures in the United States: Literature and Art*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993.
- McGovern, Eileen Marie. "From Varela to Martí: Four Nineteenth-Century Cuban Émigré Newspapers." Diss. Temple Univ, 1991.
- Menéndez Pidal, Ramon, ed. *Historia de España: la época del romanticismo (1808-1874)*. Vol. 35. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1989.
- . *Romancero hispánico (hispano-portugués, americano y sefardí)*. Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1953.
- Menocal, María Rosa. *Shards Of Love: Exile and the Origins of the Lyric*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.
- Mexía, Félix. *Enciclica del Papa León XII en auxilio del tirano de España Fernando VII con una disertación en sentido opuesto por Felix Megía* (sic). Philadelphia, 1826.
- . *Galería en miniatura de los mas célebres periodistas, folletistas y articulistas de Madrid*. 1822.
- . *La Fayette en Monte Vernon*. Philadelphia: Stavely, 1825.
- . *La Fayette in Mount Vernon*. Trans. Chauncey Buckley. Philadelphia: Stavely and Bringham, 1825.
- . *No hay unión con los tiranos morirá quien lo pretenda, o sea, la muerte de Riego y España entre cadenas*. Philadelphia: Stavely, 1825.
- . ed? *La Colmena*. Madrid: March to June 14, 1820
- . ed? *Periodicomania*. Madrid
- . trans. *La Cruz roja o los pienegros de Irlanda*.
- . trans. *Pizarro*. By August von Kotzebue. Philadelphia: Stavely and Bringham, 1824.

- Mexía, Félix and Benigno Morales, eds. *El Zurriago*. Madrid. 1-89 1821-1823. 3 vols. 8 London: Ricardo Taylor, 1834.
- Mier, Servando Teresa de. *Memoria político-instructiva*. Philadelphia: J. F. Hurtel, 1821.
- Milbauer, Asher Z. *Transcending Exile: Conrad, Nabokov, I. B. Singer*. Miami: Florida International University Press, 1985.
- Moeller, Hans-Bernhard. *Latin America and the Literature of Exile: A Comparative View of the Twentieth-Century European Refugee Writers in the New World*. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1983.
- Molina, Antonio J. *Curiosidades históricas*. San Juan: Ramallo Bros., 1995.
- Molina, César Antonio. "El exilio de la verdad." *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos* 564 June (1997): 87-97.
- Morales, Benigno. *Carta de Benigno Morales a Félix Mexía*. Philadelphia: Impr. de G. Stavely, 1825.
- Morison, Samuel Eliot, Henry Steele Commager, and William E. Leuchtenburg. *A Concise History of the American Republic*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Nash, Suzanne. *Home and Its Dislocations In Nineteenth-Century France*. Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York Press, 1993.
- Navas Ruiz, Ricardo. *El romanticismo español: historia y crítica*. Salamanca: Anaya, 1970.
- Nicholls, David. *Napoleon: A Biographical Companion*. Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 1999.
- Niderst, Alain, ed. *L'exil*. Paris: Klincksieck, 1996.
- Oden, Thomas C. Prologue *Parables of Kierkegaard*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978.
- Olavarría y Ferrari, Enrique de. *Reseña histórica del teatro en México, 1538-1911*. Mexico City: Porrúa, 1961.
- Oliveira, A. Ramos. *Politics, Economics and Men of Modern Spain*. London: Purnell and Sons, 1946.
- Olivera-Williams, María Rosa. "Poésia del exilio: el Cono Sur." *Revista Hispánica Moderna* 41: 2 Dec. 1988: 125-140.
- Paine, Thomas. *Common Sense*. 1776. New York: Penguin Classics, 1986.
- . *The Rights of Man*. New York: Penguin Classics, 1969.
- Paredes Alonso, Javier. *La España Liberal del Siglo XIX*. Madrid: Ediciones Anaya, 1988.
- Patt, Beatrice P. and Martin Nozick. *Spanish Literature: 1700-1900*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1968.
- Paz, Octavio. *Los hijos del limo: Del romanticismo a la vanguardia*. Barcelona: Seix Barral, 1974.
- Peers, E. Allison. *Historia del movimiento romántico español*. 2 vols. Madrid: Gredos, 1967.
- . *A History of the Romantic Movement in Spain*. 1940. New York: Hafner, 1964.
- Peña, Margarita. "Epic Poetry." *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*. Eds. Roberto González Echevarría and Enrique Pupo-Walker.

- Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996. 231-259.
- Pérez, Genaro J. and Janet Pérez, eds. *Spanish Literature of Exile*. Odessa: Monographic Review, 1986.
- Pérez Galdós, Benito. *Episodios nacionales*. Madrid: Perlado, Páez y Co., 1906.
- . *El terror de 1824. Obras completas*. Ed. Federico Carlos Sáinz de Robles. Madrid: Aguilar, 1945.
- Perkins, Dexter. *The Monroe Doctrine 1823-1826*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927..
- Potter, Robert. "The Illegal Immigration of Medieval Drama to California." *Medieval Drama on the Continent of Europe*. Western Michigan University, 1993. 140-58.
- Priestley, Herbert Ingram. *The Mexican Nation: A History*. New York: Macmillan, 1923.
- Rakove, Jack N. "Some Kinds of Freedom." Rev. of *Devising Liberty: Preserving and Creating Freedom in the New American Republic*, ed. David Thomas Konig. *Reviews in American History*. 24.3 September (1996): 395-400.
- Rama, Angel. *La riesgosa navegación del escritor exiliado*. Montevideo: ARCA, 1995.
- Ramos, Julio. *Desencuentros de la modernidad en América Latina: literatura y política en el siglo XIX*. MexicoCity: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989.
- Ramos, Luis Arturo. "El siglo de los exilios." *La Palabra y el Hombre: Revista de la Universidad Veracruzana* 85, (1993) Jan-Mar: 57-66.
- Ramos Gascón, Antonio, ed. *El romancero del ejército popular*. Madrid: Ed. Nuestra Cultura, 1978.
- Regalado García, Antonio. *Benito Pérez Galdós y la novela histórica española: 1868-1912*. Madrid: Insula, 1966.
- Roa Bastos, Augusto. "La escritura: Una metáfora del exilio." *Nuevo Texto Crítico* 1.1 (1988): 3-6.
- Roberts, J.M. *The Mythology of the Secret Societies*. London: Secker and Warburg.
- Robertson, William Spence. *Hispanic American Relations with the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1923.
- Rocafuerte, Vicente. *Ideas necesarias a todo pueblo americano independiente, que quiera ser libre*. Philadelphia: D. Huntington; T. & W. Mercein, printers, 1821.
- Rodríguez, Alfred. "Aspectos de un 'tipo' galdosiano: el maestro de escuela, ayo o pasante." *Actas del Segundo Congreso Internacional de Estudios Galdosianos*, 1978. Vol. 2. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Gráficas Cervantes S.A., 1980.
- . *An Introduction to the "Episodios nacionales" of Galdós*. New York: Las Américas, 1967.
- Rodríguez Plaza, Joaquina. *La novela del exilio español en México: catálogo comentado*. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Unidad Azcapotzalco, División de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, 1986.
- Rooney, John W. Jr., and Donald D. Howard. "The Treaty of Valançay: an Effort Calculated to Save an Empire." *Consortium on Revolutionary Europe*

1750-1850: *Proceedings* 1992 21: 33-42. 29 Sept. 1999

<<http://serials.abc-clio.com/cgi-bin/nph-appframework/ABC-Clio-Serials>>

- Roscio, Juan Germán. *El triunfo de la libertad sobre el despotismo, o la confesión de un pecador arrepentido de sus errores políticos, y dedicado a desagraviar, en esta parte a la religión ofendida con el sistema de la tiranía.* (sic) Philadelphia: Thomas H. Palmer, 1817.
- Rotalde, Santiago de. *La España vindicada, o baraja de fulleros en la época de la Revolución, obra formada en presencia de los diseños y apuntes sacados del Archivo de Pluton por un radical español, que en desagravio de la buena causa la publica en Londres, patria de los libres.* London: J. Ridgway and E. Wilson, 1825, 140.
- Rotker, Susan, ed. *The Memoirs of Fray Servando Teresa de Mier.* Trans. Helen Lane. By Fray Servando Teresa de Mier. 1821. New York, Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Rousseau, Jean Jacques. *Social Contract.* Trans. G. D. H. Cole. Constitution Society. <<http://www.constitution.org/jjr/socon.htm>>
- Rubio Jiménez, Jesús. *El teatro en el siglo XIX.* Madrid: Editorial Playor, 1990.
- Ruiz Torres, Pedro. "Del antiguo al nuevo régimen: carácter de la transformación." *Antiguo Régimen y liberalismo: homenaje a Miguel Artola.* Vol. 1. of *Visiones generales.* Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1994.
- Rydjord, John. *Foreign Interest in the Independence of New Spain.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1935.
- Sáinz de Robles, Federico Carlos. *El teatro español: desde sus orígenes hasta el siglo XIX.* Madrid: Aguilar, 1943.
- Salas, Horacio. "Duro oficio del exilio." *Cuadernos Hispanoamericanos: Revista Mensual de Cultura Hispánica* 517-519 July-Sept. (1993): 555-59.
- Salinas, Pedro. "El romancismo y el siglo XX." *Estudios Hispánicos (Homenaje de Wellesley College a A. M. Huntington)* (1952): 20-54. Rpt. in *Ensayos de literatura hispánica.* Madrid: Aguilar, 1952. 325-359.
- Sanjurjo, Primitivo. "Sobre el romanticismo paralelo entre Musset y Espronceda." *Hispania* 8 (1925): 295-99.
- Santí, Enrico Mario. "Politics, Literature and the Intellectual in Latin America." *Theoretical Debates in Spanish American Literature.* Eds. David William Foster and Daniel Altamiranda. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc.
- Santiago, Héctor. "Características del teatro frente a otros géneros literarios en el exilio." Essays in *Lo que no se ha dicho.* Ed. Pedro R. Monge Rafuls. Jackson Heights: Ollantay, 1994: 97-112.
- Sebold, Russell P. "Enlightenment Philosophy and the Emergence of Spanish Romanticism." *The Ibero-American Enlightenment*
- Sechi, María, ed. *Ritratti dell'atro: figure di ebrei in esilio nella cultura occidentale.* Florence: Giuntina, 1997.
- Seidel, Michael. *Exile and the Narrative Imagination.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986.
- Seoane Couceiro, María. *Oratoria y periodismo en la España del siglo XIX.* Madrid: Ed. Castalia, 1977.

- Silver, Philip W. "The Politics of Spanish Romanticism." *Crítica hispánica* 18.1 (1996): 75-80.
- . "Towards a Revisionary Theory of Spanish Romanticism." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 28 (1994): 293-300.
- Simons, John L. "The Threshold of the Mind: Advanced Teaching Strategies at the University of Houston." *Collegium* Spring 99.
- Siskin, Clifford. *The Historicity of Romantic Discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988.
- Steele, Thomas. *Notes of the War in Spain*. London: Jones & Co., 1824, 362.
- Suárez, Federico, ed. *Documentos del reinado de Fernando VII*. Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra, 1970.
- Suárez Radillo, Carlos Miguel. *El teatro neoclásico y costumbrista hispanamericano: ensayo de una historia crítico-antológica*. 3 vols. Madrid: José Porrúa Turanzas, 1981.
- Suleiman, Susan Rubin, ed. *Exile And Creativity: Signposts, Travelers, Outsiders, Backward Glances*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.
- Szaladits, Lola L. *Beneath another Sun: Literature in Exile*. New York: New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundation, 1977.
- Tabori, Paul. *The Anatomy of Exile: A Semantic and Historical Study*. London: Harrap, 1972.
- Tang, Edward. "Writing the American Revolution." *Journal of American Studies* 32.1 April (1998): 63-80.
- Tatum, Charles. "Some Considerations on Genres and Chronology for Nineteenth Century Literature." Eds. Gutierrez, Ramón and Genaro Padilla. *Recovering the U.S. Hispani Literary Heritage*. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1993.
- Thelen, David. "Making History and Making the United States." *Journal of American Studies* 32.3 December (1998): 373-397.
- Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. 1835. 1840. Ed. Thomas Bender. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981. Trevor-Roper, H.R. "The Romantic Movement and the Study of History." John Coffin Memorial Lecture. University of London. 17 February 1969.
- Tripp, Eleanor B. *To America*. Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969.
- Ugarte, Michael. *Shifting Ground: Spanish Civil War in Exile Literature*. Durham: Duke UP, 1988.
- Ullman, Pierre L. *Mariano de Larra and Spanish Political Rhetoric*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1971.
- Underwood, Olympia. "Márgenes y centros del exilio." *Puentelibre: Revista de Cultura* 4 Spring (1995): 82-87.
- Valdes, Hernán. "Escritores en el exilio y el exilio de la escritura." *Quimera: Revista de Literatura* 25 November 1982: 27-28.
- Varela, Félix. *Jicoténcal*. Eds. Luis Leal and Rodolfo Cortina. Houston: Arte Público Press, 1995.
- Vegas Rolando, Nicolás. *Como se ligan las revoluciones y sus hombres: Washington, Bolívar, Miranda, La Fayette*. Caracas: Ediciones V.

Rolando, 1976.

Villanueva, Joaquín Lorenzo. *Juicio de la obra del señor arzobispo Depradt intitulada "Concordato de México con Roma"*. ms. London, 1827.

Wellek, René. "The Concept of Romanticism in Literary History." *Comparative Literature* 1 (1949): 1-23 147-72.

White, Hayden. *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987.

---. *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination In Nineteenth-Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

---. "'The Nineteenth-Century' as Chronotope." *Nineteenth Century Contexts*. 11 (1987): 119-29.

Whitlark, James and Aycock, Wendell M. Eds. *The Literature of Emigration and Exile*. Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 1992.

"William Blake" in *Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Third Edition

Woodward, Margaret L. "The Spanish Army and the Loss of America, 1810-1824." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 48 November (1968): 586-607.

Zaborowska, Magdalena J. *How We Found America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Zavala, Iris M. *Románticos y socialistas: Prensa española del XIX*. Madrid: Siglo XXI, 1972.

Zavala, Silvio A. *Las instituciones jurídicas en la conquista de América*. Mexico City: Editorial Porrúa, 1971.

Zelaya Kolker, Marielena. "Testimonios americanos de los escritores trasterrados de 1939." Diss. University of Maryland, 1979.

Index

A

- Abísbal 148, 149
- Abrams, M. H. 198
- Absolutist 19, 27, 74, 76, 86, 112, 139, 146, 147, 149, 153, 192, 214
- Adams, Nicholson B. 110
- afrancesado* 16, 75, 76, 86, 114, 190
- Albemarle 168
- Alberich, José 30, 85
- Alcalá Galiano, Antonio 8, 21, 23, 24, 66, 75, 77, 78, 85, 109, 112-114, 118, 122, 133-136, 138, 146-148, 155
- Alexander VI 93, 158, 161, 162, 167-169, 183
- allegory 4, 7, 8, 10, 16, 18, 24, 38, 41, 43, 47, 59, 76, 103, 122, 178
 - national 117, 120, 174
- see political allegory
- Almería 6, 77, 121, 178
- Alvarez de Toledo, José 52, 61, 101, 119
- American 10-12, 22-24, 30, 31, 33-36, 47-50, 54, 62-65, 94-96, 99, 100, 103-105, 147, 148, 158, 169-176, 180, 181, 187, 188
- American Constitutional Congress 62
- American Founding Father 158, 214
- American Revolution 8, 39, 96, 158, 171, 172, 180
- analogy 9, 34, 36, 37, 43, 103, 121, 139, 171, 175, 178, 213
- Ancelmo 109, 120, 124, 127-130, 132, 133
- Andalucía 34, 47, 75, 108, 148
- Andalusian 75, 148
- Anderson, Benedict 11, 12
- Andrews, Tina 113
- Andújar, Manuel 35
- Angel del Río 84, 85, 139
- Anglo-American 10
- Angoulême, Duke of 192
- Aquinas, St. Thomas 39, 93, 127
- Aragón 82, 83
- Aranjuez 81
- Argüelles, Agustín 88, 135
- aristocracy 30, 69, 142, 145, 169, 171, 180, 191, 210
- Aristotle 38, 41, 109
- army 29, 30, 69, 74, 82, 108, 146, 148, 149, 187, 192
- Artola Galbgo, Miguel 29
- Asturias 74, 81
- Ataliva 202
- Athens 96, 97
- audience 32, 118, 193, 201, 203
- August, Friederic 3, 6, 64, 134, 171, 199, 200
- Augustine 39, 127
- Austria 50, 194
- Avellaneda, Gertrudis de 197

B

- Bancroft, Hubert Howe 53, 180
- Barcelona 81, 149
- Barea, Arturo 35
- Bayonne 80, 81, 140, 189

- Bécquer, Gustavo Adolfo 155, 195,
196, 198
- Benítez-Rojo, Antonio 11
- Benson, Nettie Lee 107, 141, 143,
144
- Bergamini, John D. 29, 70, 71, 80-
82, 84, 100, 101, 118, 148
- Bible 10, 32, 40, 88, 89, 91-93, 110,
181, 182
- Blake, William 181, 182
- Blanco Aguinaga 5, 33-35, 139,
175, 216
- Blasco Ibañez, Vicente 144
- Bly, Peter A. 9, 195, 196, 198
- Böhl von Faber, John Nicholas 196-
198
- Bolívar, Simón 18, 28, 31, 95, 99,
100, 111, 165, 169, 176
- Bolivia 63
- Bonaparte, José 64, 75, 80, 81, 119,
190, 210
- Bonapartism 40
- Borrego, Andrés 170
- Bourbon 57, 64, 73, 86, 149, 190,
194
- Bourdieu, Pierre 33, 175, 210
- bourgeois 12, 113, 135, 174, 194
- Bradfield, Scott 173, 176
- Britain 30, 50, 169, 170, 192, 201
- Brodie, Fawn 113
- Brookhiser, Richard 160
- Brown, Dan 113
- Büchner 201
- Bulkley, Esq., Chauncey 179
- Bulletin Hispanique* 26
- Burch, Jacobina 101
- Burr, Aaron 168, 169
- Burstein, Stanley 180, 181, 187,
188
- Butler, Marilyn 198
- C
- Caballero, Fernán 47, 155, 176
- Cádiz 21, 29, 82, 85, 88, 95, 101,
118, 119, 130, 136, 161, 177,
185, 192, 197
- Caesar 89, 167
- Calatrava 136
- Calderón de la Barca, Pedro 19,
153-155, 199
- Camborda, Francisco 77, 114
- Canga Argüelles, José 88
- Carbonari 3
- Carlos IV 5, 23, 64, 80-82, 140,
161, 172
- Carlos V 80
- Carr, Raymond 29, 31
- Chavez, Hugo 176
- Carta* 2, 5, 6, 23, 29, 30, 59-61, 71-
75, 78-81, 83, 84, 86, 97, 111,
120-124, 138, 139, 177, 212,
213
- Castro, Américo 195
- Castro, Rosalía de 195
- censorship 3, 4, 13, 15, 16, 18, 22,
36, 37, 43, 63, 84, 87, 106, 107,
133, 138, 175, 212, 213
- Cernuda, Luis 34, 36, 64, 198
- chain as figurative language 94,
101, 102, 153, 179
- Chateaubriand 84
- choral 202, 203
- chorus 159, 202-204
- Christiansen, E. 146
- Cien mil hijos de San Luis* 192
- Cienfuegos, José Ignacio 87
- classic 14, 24, 43, 95, 108, 110,
119, 181, 182, 200
- classical 40, 46, 55, 66, 90, 92, 110,
155, 162, 173, 180, 181, 187,
188, 195, 199, 211
- classics 181, 187
- Clausewitz, Karl 180
- Clinton, Dewitt 59, 65, 67, 68, 86,
103-105, 172, 179, 180
- Colón, María Luisa 3, 62, 73, 75,
88, 89, 95, 96, 99-101, 119, 150
- Comuneros 48, 71, 72, 74, 77, 80,
85, 101, 124, 134, 135, 154,
211, 212
- Congress of Verona 192

- conspiracy 70, 71, 102, 108, 122,
 126, 128, 136, 157, 165, 184,
 190, 208
 constitution 8, 9, 25, 41, 84, 85, 96-
 98, 105-108, 111, 112, 117-120,
 127, 147, 148, 160-163, 166-
 169, 183-187, 191, 192, 214,
 215
 Constitution of 1812 25, 2, 31, 37,
 47, 61, 84, 94, 96, 107-108, 111,
 115, 117-118, 130, 133, 144,
 147-148, 157, 163, 184, 190,
 192, 209, 214, 217
 Constitution of Cádiz 29, 82, 85,
 88, 95, 118, 119, 177, 185, 192
 constitutional 2, 24, 26, 31, 61, 62,
 86, 87, 96-99, 105, 106, 129,
 130, 143, 144, 161, 162, 174,
 175, 184-187, 189-192, 210-212
 Cornejo Polar, Antonio 10, 21
 Cortes 18, 29, 48, 56, 63, 64, 80,
 84, 85, 94, 99-101, 107-109,
 118, 119, 134, 135, 141-144,
 183-186, 191, 192
 Cortina, Rodolfo 9, 23, 24, 37, 49,
 54, 98-100, 213
 Council of Trent 91
 Cromwell 201
 Cruz, Jesús 8, 25, 28, 53, 68, 86,
 135, 136, 152, 174, 175, 212
cuarto poder fifth estate 27
 culture 4, 16, 22, 33, 35, 55, 62, 98,
 105, 135, 136, 154, 175, 176,
 179, 182, 210
 Custis, George Washington P. 7,
 28, 67, 68, 106, 158-161, 164,
 165, 169, 170, 172, 177, 181,
 183, 185-187, 203, 204, 216
- D**
 death 2-8, 20, 21, 23, 39, 40, 56, 72,
 73, 78, 79, 121, 122, 125, 126,
 140, 141, 148-151, 157, 158,
 162, 181-184, 213, 214
 deconstruction 42, 46
 Derrida, Jacques 42-48
 despotism 30, 31, 34, 88, 89, 94,
 97, 101, 104, 138, 147, 186,
 192, 210
 Don Domingo as Inquisition 109,
 129
Dos de mayo 82
 drama 2, 3, 14, 15, 18-20, 22-26,
 49-51, 68, 106-109, 111, 112,
 120, 150-153, 157, 158, 179,
 180, 187, 188, 199-201, 215-
 217
 dramatic 7, 12-14, 17, 18, 30-32,
 36-38, 41-44, 60, 61, 106, 121,
 122, 139, 177-179, 183, 199-
 201, 207-209, 213-216
 dramatic narrator 6, 12, 17, 71, 106,
 134, 138, 161, 172, 178, 183,
 185, 193, 214, 216
 Dumas, Alexandre 201
 Duque de Rivas 19, 155
 Durán, Agustín 155, 196
- E**
 Eco, Humberto 65, 68, 69, 74, 75,
 103, 112
El Zurriago 2-4, 6, 14, 15, 17, 20,
 26-28, 37, 59-61, 71-79, 86,
 112-115, 122, 123, 137, 146,
 147, 201, 202
Enciclica 2, 6, 8, 59-61, 65, 86, 88,
 89, 92, 97, 100, 105, 106, 118,
 120, 172, 185
 encyclical of Pope Leon XII 6, 59,
 61, 86-87, 93
 Enlightenment 69, 91, 104, 113,
 155, 167, 176, 184, 186-188,
 193, 194, 210
 epic 5, 6, 22, 25, 51, 72, 110, 121,
 158, 182, 187
 Eppe, Juan Armando 9, 32, 33, 35,
 48-50, 55, 57
 Epstein, James A. 89, 90, 92, 97,
 98, 184
 Esdaile, Charles J. 30, 146-150
 Espinosa, Aurelio 51

Espez y Mina, Francisco 30, 40, 84,
148, 152, 157, 161, 162, 177,
188-190, 209

Espronceda, Jose de 63, 72, 155,
195-198, 201

exaltado fanatical liberal 3, 23, 26,
48, 71, 72, 74, 76, 86, 115, 126,
135, 146, 184, 187, 191

exile 1-5, 7-9, 13-15, 21-24, 31-33,
35-37, 41-44, 48-50, 54-57, 59-
61, 63-67, 170, 171, 182-184,
207-209, 211-218

identity 7, 13, 36, 59, 66, 150,
193, 216-218

F

fable 110

fame 79, 181, 205

family 8, 14, 61, 67, 70, 82, 87, 93,
105, 129, 135, 136, 158, 160,
161, 163, 171

Félix 1-7, 18, 19, 23-26, 29, 30, 35-
37, 99-102, 106-109, 116, 120-
123, 132-134, 139, 140, 150-
152, 157, 183, 184, 207-209

Fernández, Bernardino 19, 51, 136,
151, 152

Fernando VII 69, 73, 81, 83, 112,
116, 124, 130 148-149, 153

fire 18, 103, 120, 127, 129, 217

Flitter, Derek 194, 197, 198

Fontana de oro 17, 155, 184

Fossier, Albert E 126, 159, 166

Foucault, Michel 158, 173

Franklin, Benjamin 4, 14, 62

freedom 8, 14, 16, 19, 23, 27-30,
35, 52, 60, 78, 79, 86, 91, 96,
99-101, 177

freemasonry 6, 48, 59-61, 65-71,
74, 88, 104, 112, 147, 148, 160,
210

Freemasons 48, 60, 65-71, 76, 96,
160, 210

French 15, 16, 19-21, 25-27, 40, 69,
70, 74, 75, 80-82, 125, 126, 135,

136, 145-147, 169-171, 185,
187-189, 191, 192, 212

Fry, Northrup 109-110

G

German 3, 44, 47, 154, 182, 185,
198-201

Gies, David 197

Gil Novales, Alberto 26, 135, 194

Girodet, Anne-Louise 40

Godoy, Manuel Prince of Peace 19,
63, 64, 80, 81

Gómez, Dolores 3, 26, 27, 86, 213,
214

González Stephan, Beatriz 10

Gorostiza y Cepeda, Manuel
Eduardo de 75, 155, 197, 213

government 48, 49, 61, 71, 74-76,
78, 87, 89-93, 99, 100, 122, 135,
136, 139, 149, 167-169, 173,
174, 210-212

Grammatology vs. Structuralism
42, 43

Greek 8, 24, 25, 33, 34, 38, 39, 42,
46, 61, 110, 158, 162, 180, 181

guerrilla 6, 80, 82, 84, 107, 120,
144, 148, 209

Gutierrez de Lara, Colonel Bernardo
101

H

Hale, Charles A. 181

Hamilton, Alexander 28, 158-163,
167-169, 172, 181, 183, 204,
214

Handlin, Oscar and Mary 163

Hanyan, Craig and Mary L. 105,
162, 172, 176, 202

happiness 64, 95, 165, 177, 182,
183, 185, 206

Harvey, A. D. 40

Hauser, Arnold 123

Hayden White 10, 47, 106, 109,
110, 163, 165

Hazard, Paul 185

Herder, Johann Gottfried 196, 198

hero 6-8, 11, 12, 23-25, 30, 40, 55,
56, 70, 71, 107, 108, 157-159,
169-174, 177-184, 202-206,
208, 209, 211-213, 215-217
Herrera-Sobek, María 24, 216, 218
Herrero, Javier 197
historical 1, 2, 7-11, 20-25, 28-31,
59-62, 64-69, 102, 103, 106-
113, 120-123, 157, 158, 169-
172, 177-180, 193-196, 207-
210, 214-217
historiography 10, 109, 110
history 5, 6, 9-12, 35-38, 49-53, 56,
57, 60, 61, 65-68, 82, 83, 85, 95,
96, 109, 110, 112, 113, 163,
178-180, 207-209
Holy Alliance 84, 100, 125, 137,
139, 190, 192
Homer 181, 187
Hugo, Victor 40, 113, 155, 166,
200
Humeya, Abén 20

I

Ibsen, Henrik 200
idealist 4, 213
identity in exile 1, 4, 7, 8, 11, 31,
56, 60, 67, 109, 122, 207, 209
Iliad 181, 187
imagery 110, 182
immortality 97, 203, 205
independence 9, 30, 41, 48, 50, 61,
62, 70, 81, 83, 87-89, 97, 98,
141-145, 149, 150, 152, 190
individualism 158, 173, 175
Infante, Don Carlos 109, 116
Infante, Facundo 63
Inquisition 29, 30, 64, 107, 109,
116, 124-126, 128-130, 132,
133, 140, 146, 157, 168, 209
irony 16, 47, 71, 110, 165
Iturbide, Agustín de 99, 145, 152

J

Jacobean 28, 116, 129

Jameson, Frederick 11, 12, 158,
178
Jicoténcal 8, 23, 24, 37, 53
journalism 1-4, 8-10, 13, 15-19, 28,
36, 47, 52, 53, 56, 59, 60, 101,
102, 106, 107, 111, 170, 171,
213
Jovellanos, Gaspar Melchor de 19,
21, 81
judge 41, 67, 75, 78, 89, 117, 124,
125, 130, 131, 184, 209
judiciary 107-108, 157, 209
Juretschke, Hans 196
jurisdiction of the papacy 88, 91
justice 34, 40, 41, 78, 94, 104, 116-
118, 125, 126, 131, 139, 172,
186

K

Kanellos, Nicolás 9, 49, 52, 54
Kant, Immanuel 123, 127, 154
Kermode, Frank 10, 38, 39
King, Edmund 5, 23, 29, 75, 80-82,
84, 92, 93, 108, 116-118, 123-
125, 129-133, 137-143, 160,
161, 189-192, 211, 212
Kirkpatrick, Susan 9, 195-198
Kotzebue, August Frederic 199, 200,
217
Krauze, Enrique 141, 147

L

La Colmena 114, 115
La Fayette 1, 2, 4, 5, 26, 28, 42, 43,
47-49, 59, 60, 65-68, 105-107,
157-175, 177-183, 187-189,
200-204, 207-210, 212-218
La pepa 214
Larra, Mariano José de 9, 13-21,
28, 117, 135, 136, 138, 139,
155, 161, 184, 194, 195, 198,
210
law 6, 10, 62, 66, 70, 84, 91, 93, 97,
116, 117, 124, 126, 131, 142,
186
Le Brun, Carlos 61, 96, 101, 134

- Leal, Luis 9, 23, 37, 50-53, 98-100
 Levasseur, Auguste 171
 Levi-Strauss, Claude 43
 Lewis, R.W.B. 180
 liberales exaltados vs. liberales
 moderados 27, 29, 74, 101, 112
 liberalism 2-4, 18-21, 24-28, 30, 31,
 65-67, 84-87, 118, 119, 135,
 136, 143-149, 153-155, 170-
 175, 184-186, 194-198, 208-
 211, 216, 217
 liberty 17, 18, 30, 31, 85-88, 93-98,
 100, 118, 119, 125, 126, 129,
 140, 163, 164, 166, 167, 176,
 177, 200, 210, 211, 217, 218
 Lista, Alberto 74, 196
 Litvak, Lily 112, 113
 Lloréns Castillo, Vicente 9, 63, 73,
 86, 188
 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth 148
 Lope de Vega 28, 199
 Louis XVIII 192
 Luther, Martin 91
- M**
 Madison, James 104, 167, 168
 Madrid 3, 5, 16, 20, 29, 63, 64, 75,
 76, 80-82, 114, 118, 128, 130,
 131, 134-137, 175, 176, 189
 Magic Realism 23
 Mamelukes 81, 82
 Margaret as Constitution 160, 162,
 163, 167, 183, 186, 214
 María 3, 9, 25, 28, 62, 77, 86, 108,
 109, 115, 128, 132, 136, 152
 Marrast, Robert 196, 197
 marriage 30, 119, 127, 165, 166
 marry 212
 Martí, José 101
 Martínez de la Rosa, Francisco 15,
 19-21, 74, 76, 135, 136, 138,
 139, 210
 martyrdom 4, 6, 79, 106, 108, 116,
 120, 121, 144, 181, 209, 213
 Marxist 11, 12, 102, 113, 120, 135,
 175, 178, 179, 194, 198
- Masonic 65, 67-70, 95, 104, 105,
 136, 138, 153, 180
 political discourse 65, 67, 69, 70,
 95, 104, 105, 136, 138, 180
 matrimony 164
 Mayoral, Marina 198
 Medieval 6, 8, 17, 20, 21, 25, 38,
 80, 142, 161, 192, 196, 200,
 211, 212
 felicity 8, 142, 161, 192, 212
 melodrama 15, 23, 199-201, 215
 Menéndez Pidal, Ramón 3, 9
 Mesonero Romanos 16, 23, 77, 78,
 112, 133
 metaphor 18, 32, 37, 47, 94, 103,
 110, 145, 165
 metonymy 110
 Mexía, Félix 1-15, 17-32, 35-43,
 59-61, 64-68, 70-79, 86-94,
 100-103, 105-107, 117-123,
 149-155, 168-175, 181-188,
 207-209, 211-218
 Mier, Fray Servando Teresa de 88,
 100, 144
 military 12, 16, 29-31, 60, 63, 105,
 107, 124, 141-143, 145-147,
 149, 161-163, 170-173, 189,
 208, 209
 Miranda, Francisco 28, 83, 95, 169
 moderates 27, 29, 71, 74, 86, 101,
 112
 monarchy 49, 50, 80, 81, 86, 88, 91,
 100, 110, 130, 143, 144, 161,
 169, 170, 186, 191, 212
 Monroe Doctrine 50, 100
 Mora, José Joaquín de 63, 75, 154,
 155, 197
 Morales, Benigno 2, 3, 5, 6, 14, 23,
 26, 27, 29, 30, 71-83, 101, 102,
 111, 120-122, 133, 134, 136,
 144-147, 161, 212-214
 More, Thomas 91, 113, 167, 169,
 211
 multicultural 177
 musical verse 20, 179

N

- nation 5, 7, 30, 35, 50, 61, 80, 81,
86-89, 94-98, 101, 105, 115,
130, 161, 162, 184-186
natural rights 87, 90, 117, 187
Navas Ruiz, Ricardo 196
Neoclassicism 9, 13, 19, 22, 24, 28,
41, 49, 70, 106, 108, 114, 158,
212, 213, 215, 216
Nicholls, David 49, 69, 70
Nietzsche 44
nineteenth century 1, 10, 11, 15, 20-
22, 28, 31, 52, 54, 61, 64, 68,
69, 82, 184, 185, 188, 198, 199
Novales, Gil 26, 135, 194

O

- ocios* 25, 155, 189
ocistas 21, 25, 64
oratory 6, 17, 18, 48, 56, 60, 65, 72,
85, 91, 94, 95, 97, 102, 103,
118, 183-186, 203

P

- Paine, Thomas 90-93, 95, 97
Palmer, Simón 198
papal authority 7, 105
parable 40, 110
Paredes Alonso, Javier 51
patriot 4-6, 11, 65-67, 70-72, 78,
85-87, 102, 118-120, 124, 126,
129, 130, 145, 157-161, 204,
205, 212-215
farmer 11
patriotic hymns 159, 202, 204
Paula, Francisco de, brother of King
Ferdinand VII of Spain 70
Paz, Octavio 174
Peers, E. Allison 9, 21, 193-197,
215
People's Movement 105, 172, 176
Pérez Firmat, Gustavo 197
Pérez Galdós, Benito 2, 17
Periodicomanía 77

- Philadelphia 1-3, 6, 7, 9, 12, 26, 29,
30, 52, 59, 61, 62, 85, 86, 99-
101, 121, 207, 208, 216, 218
philosophy 10, 20, 38, 39, 47, 62,
67, 74, 84, 91, 92, 104, 127,
174, 200
political allegory 1, 2, 5, 7-10, 13,
37, 41, 42, 56, 59-61, 65, 73, 74,
106, 107, 170, 177-179, 207-
209, 215-218
politicians 2, 9, 14, 86, 100, 109
politics 9, 16, 22, 24, 25, 37, 63, 65,
97, 98, 111, 112, 120, 139, 154,
155, 174, 175, 179, 180, 207,
208
power 25, 27, 29, 39, 61, 89, 91, 93,
94, 97-99, 130, 131, 141-143,
163-165, 181, 185-188, 191,
192
Prescott, William Hickling 180
priest 56, 115, 128, 134, 180
pronunciamiento 30, 148
propaganda 61, 62, 66, 76, 88, 94,
96, 176
Propp, Vladimir 166
Protestants see Luther; Protestantism
91
pseudonym 8, 13, 25, 44, 49, 90,
107, 150, 175, 208, 216

Q

- Quiroga, Antonio 148

R

- refugiados* vs. *desterrados* 33, 34
religion 18, 67, 69, 70, 84, 86-88,
92, 94, 143, 152, 174, 179, 191,
203
republican 24, 48, 99, 152, 158,
160, 168-170, 181, 188, 194
resistance 12, 22, 46, 55, 68, 82, 86,
91, 100, 101, 104-106, 139, 152,
187, 188, 208
revolution 8, 25, 62-64, 69, 73, 74,
96, 100, 101, 135, 169-172, 174,

- 175, 182, 187, 188, 194, 198,
199, 202
- revolutionary 7, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31,
60, 78, 98-100, 105, 143, 144,
157, 158, 160-163, 171-173,
176, 177, 179-181, 209, 210
- rhetoric 4, 6, 8, 17, 60, 65, 66, 74,
92, 97, 98, 103, 145, 153, 158,
174, 214-216
- rhetorical 20, 38, 66, 115, 120, 140,
164, 179, 184
- Riego y Nuñez, General Rafael de
4-7, 30, 31, 59, 60, 63-66, 72-
74, 105-111, 115-134, 139-141,
143-145, 148, 149, 151-153,
157, 161-163, 207-210, 212-218
- ring conspiracy 165, 208
- Rocafuerte, Vicente 61, 98-100
- Rojas Garcidueñas, Pedro 24, 98
- romance
 histórico 5, 6, 30
 real or endecasílabo 73
- Romancero de Riego* 30
- Romanticism 1, 7, 9-14, 17-22, 59,
60, 67, 68, 71, 72, 105, 106,
117, 154, 155, 157, 158, 187,
188, 193-201, 207-210, 212-218
- Rome 17, 30, 87, 90, 96, 97, 187,
211
- Roscio, Juan Germán 61, 88
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 95, 133,
135, 185, 203
- Rubio Jiménez, Jesús 23, 123, 195,
215
- S
- Sab* 197
- Santí, Enrico Mario 112, 120
- Sarmiento, Patricio 3, 214
- satire 2, 8, 13, 16-18, 26, 28, 74, 75,
78, 87, 112, 113, 115, 122, 123,
144, 161, 185
- Sebold, Russell 197
- Seoane Couceiro, María 9, 15, 17,
25, 28, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 86,
114, 115, 118, 119, 135, 147,
155, 185-187
- serviles* 27, 29, 74, 189, 197
 conservadores vs. absolutistas 27
- Silver, Philip 94, 154, 155, 194,
198
- simile 110
- Sociedad Landaburiana 75, 77, 118
- Spain 2-4, 6-10, 13-18, 21-31, 34-
36, 56, 57, 63-65, 79-88, 100-
102, 106-108, 139-141, 143-
145, 181-186, 188-193, 210-213
- Spanish War of Independence 30,
48, 62, 70, 81, 87, 141, 147,
149, 150, 152, 155, 160, 170,
181, 187
- St. Jean de Crevecoeur, Hector 180
- stage directions 13, 107, 115, 124,
125, 140, 203, 218
- Statute of Bayonne 81
- structuralism 41, 43, 46, 109, 110,
197
- symbol 13, 21, 89, 93, 110, 126,
181
- synecdoche 110
- T
- Tirso de Molina 197
- Trágala* 122, 145, 204
- tragedy 2, 7, 10, 28, 59, 73, 87,
106-109, 111, 113, 122, 123,
157, 199, 207-209, 215
- transnational 1, 22, 48-50, 54, 59,
193, 194, 199, 200, 207, 215,
216
- Triennium 2-4, 6, 13-15, 18, 25, 26,
60, 61, 63, 65, 66, 71, 72, 75-77,
95, 96, 112, 133-135, 201, 210-
212
- tyranny 39, 88, 89, 100, 104, 106,
118, 126, 129, 160, 185, 188,
217
- U

- Ullman, Pierre L. 9, 14, 15, 18-21,
136, 138, 139, 161, 191, 192,
210, 214
utopia 17, 62, 182, 211, 213
utopian 18, 95, 122, 129, 174, 186,
204

V

- Varela, Félix 23-25, 52, 53, 56, 99
vaudeville 15, 201
Victoria, Guadalupe, president of
Mexico 7, 107, 108, 111, 151-
153, 199, 202, 209, 214, 215,
217

W

- Washington, George 2, 23, 24, 28,
39, 40, 97, 152, 158-160, 162-
165, 169, 171, 172, 176, 177,
180-183, 188, 204-206, 212-214
Welleck, René 198
White, Hayden 10, 47, 106, 109,
110, 163, 165
Whitlock, Brandt 170
Willard, Emma 173
Wordsworth, William 47, 182, 188

X

- Ximénez Del Río, Juan José Manuel
pseudonym Mexía 16-21, 72,
84, 85, 90, 111, 139, 150, 153,
155, 193

Z

- Zavala, Iris 3, 9, 27, 28, 75, 76, 78,
86, 119, 133, 144, 146, 147,
153, 194, 196, 197
Zion 32, 94
Zorilla y del Moral, José 155
Zurriaguistas 6, 26, 27, 29, 78, 119,
134-136, 14



Dr. Elizabeth Coscio received her Ph.D. in Spanish from the University of Houston and her Master's from Rice University. As Assistant Professor of Spanish at The University of St. Thomas in Houston, Dr. Coscio teaches Spanish applied language courses for business and mass media. She developed the first Spanish Heritage Course there in 1997.

Edmund Mellen